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Pueblo Founding in Early Mexico

In the year 1521, after the conquest of the Aztecs, Spain began to construct another Spain on the continent of North America. New Spain was part of the gradually extending colonial empire of the mother country, but at the same time it came to share many of the ancient institutions of Old Spain. In the course of time, with a newly built and growing capital in Mexico City and with the arrival of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, New Spain bore some likeness to a kingdom in itself. During the first fifty years of its development, society in New Spain had taken its ultimate colonial form, and political, administrative, economic, cultural, and religious programs which were to endure throughout the colonial epoch were well rounded out. The new realm had even its wild frontiers to the north. From the capital and from the organized areas and cities around it, trails led into the northwest; these became traveled roads. Mines were opened, and the frontier was extended and occupied, so that before the end of the sixteenth century other great areas beyond New Spain had assumed form under the names of Nuevo León to the north and along the Gulf of Mexico, Nueva Galicia in the northwest, and beyond this in the far northwest of that time, Nueva Vizcaya.

This construction and advance of empire was made by stages. It was accomplished in the face of great obstacles. The men who made it successful worked together and they were invariably of the vigorous type, captains of Spanish soldiery, captains of the mining industry, captains of religious missionary forces. Each contributed toward the organization and development of the new society of the frontier amid personal hardships and dangers. A great number of the mining men died in poverty, and many of the missionaries suffered an actual martyrdom or one of charity in the process of organization, but the progress continued.

The consideration in this paper is of one highly important item in the Spanish program and advance, namely, the gathering of native Indians into villages and their reduction to civilized life. This fundamental procedure of concentration was one of long standing and it was undertaken sometimes by the Spanish officials and sometimes by the missionaries, but more frequently by the combined efforts of the two. A notable instance of the procedure in operation among the mountains of the wild frontier of New Spain comes to hand. In this instance missionaries played a great part. That the padres of the early mission days led a strenuous life may not readily be doubted by those who read accounts of labors similar to those of Santarén.

To settle one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four persons in ten pueblos, baptize two hundred and eighty-two, and perform thirty marriages, besides checking up on twelve hundred other persons scattered in rancherías, is a rather fair amount of work to have finished in five weeks time. Considering the nature of the land and the type of persons so gathered into pueblos, one might term it a notable result. Yet this is the record of Father Hernando de Santarén, S. J., aided by Captain Diego de Avila for the periods of the last few days of February and nearly the whole month of December of the year 1600. The account of this journey to the northern lands and of the subsequent labor of checking and organization was written by Martín Duarte, the secretary of the expedition, and is published in full detail in the *Documentos para la Historia de México.*[1] The report gives a vivid picture of the labor of pueblo founding in seventeenth-century Mexico. Santarén, as leader of the missionary forces, likewise wrote a description shortly afterwards of the land and customs of the people, for the information of the provincial of the Jesuit Province of New Spain, Father Ildefonso de Castro, and this was published by the Jesuit historian Father Alegre.[2]

The achievements of the missionaries may perhaps be better appreciated if a cursory glance is cast at the country in which the foundation was made. The Topia-San Andrés mining district lies high in the Sierra Madre mountains, that great range of Mexico's west coast whose austere beauty defies description as its rocks have defied modern engineering skill. It is not one range but a series of parallel ridges reaching in Chihuahua a width of three hundred miles and stretching fifteen hundred miles southeast to Guadalajara. Extremely high and rugged in the north, on the lower Pacific coast the mountains break into a network of gorges thousands of feet in depth. The terrifying beauty of Urique is paralleled farther south in the *quebrada* country of Durango. There the well-watered slopes are covered with dense forests of poplars, oaks, maples, pines, and close tangled brushwood, which make them almost impenetrable. The torrents cutting into the mountain side, the wide, dusty stretches of the mesas, the weird cries of the forest animals only add to the savage grandeur.[3] Extremes of temperature as well as of scenery are met with in these canyons. In less than two days one may pass from six feet of snow on the summits, down through corn and bean fields on the plateaux, and on to the lowlands where zapote, cotton, chile, and all the plants of the hot countries are grown.[4]

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[1] *Documentos para la Historia de México,* Mexico, 1853-1857, Serie IV, Tomo IV, 173-267; this is the Testimonio Jurídico de las Poblaciones y conversiones de los serranos Acaches, hechas por el Capitan Diego de Avila y el venerable padre Hernando de Santarén por el año 1600.

[2] Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España,* Mexico, 1841, I, 394-407. For convenience this Santarén relation will be cited in the following pages according to its page place in Alegre.

Within these mountains lived the Acaxee Indians, each family gathered in a small, inaccessible ranchería.[5] They were an agricultural, semi-nomadic people of the Uti-Aztecan stock.[6] Remnants of the tribe now live in the "ex-partido" district of Tamazula, Durango.[7] Estimates give about twenty-five thousand Acaxee for the first years of the seventeenth century, about twelve thousand of whom were already in the charge of the Jesuit missionaries.[8] Much of this achievement was due to the efforts of Santarén who labored in this field for over sixteen years and sealed his work with a martyr's death in the Tepehuán Revolt of 1616.[9] His fame as a pueblo-founder is second only to his reputation as a missionary, as the Duarte account of one of his first tours of the mining country shows.

The Indians of this region ran wild amid the mountains and hid their *rancherías* high up on the sides of the gorges, where the white man could not follow. Their life was one of poverty and petty warfare, which was undertaken at times for primitive reasons and at other times for no reason except the bellicose nature of the leaders. Santarén, in describing the methods of existence and the foodstuffs of the mountain peoples, notices the fish of the streams, the squirrels of different kinds, some as large as cats, the great abundance of fowls, the bees, and honey as white as snow. What amazed him was one woodpeckers' granary in an old pine tree that had been perforated with thousands of holes, each one containing an acorn.[10] Meat of animals and birds, *frijoles,* maize, the meal drinks of *atole* and *pinole,* are other mentionable foods, though it is not to be supposed that all of the items were partaken of at each repast. Lions were about and were killed, for part of the war accouterment was made from their hides. When on the warpath the Indians were armed and apparently were given to conducting themselves much after the approved fashion of our own Iroquois and Sioux. Had they always dwelt thus in the upper valleys and mountainsides, or had the coming of the Spaniards driven them from their old fields? At any rate in the year 1600 they were living in small, isolated groups, united by bonds of blood-relationship—wild, timid, barbarous. Missionary tours through this country had convinced the authorities that nothing permanent in the work of civilization and conversion could be achieved in such surroundings. The Indians must be brought down from the heights and settled in villages, where instruction in Christian living and Christian doctrine could be given them.

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[3] *Géographie Universelle,* Tome XIV; Maximilien Sorre, *Mexique et Amérique Centrale,* Paris, 1928, 36-38; Alegre, I, 394.

[4] Ralph L. Beals, *The Acaxee,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1933, 9; Alegre, I, 395.

[5] Alegre, I, 396.

[6] Beals, 3.

[7] *Ibid.,* 1.

[8] Carl Sauer, *Aboriginal Population of North-Western Mexico,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1935, 22.

[9] Peter M. Dunne, S. J., "The Tepehuán Revolt," MID-AMERICA, XVIII, 1936, 3-14, gives a survey of the temporary end of the work of Santarén, and of the end of his missionary career.

Difficulties of many kinds hindered the work. Often the Indians could not be found. When found many did not want to come, wary lest Spanish labor and possible enslavement might become their lot. They feared, above all, the loss of their idols and the vengeance of their gods. However, the gifts of the Spaniards and the promise of protection against their enemies prevailed over their fears, and the work was begun.

Nowhere in mission annals is the co-operative work of Church and State so well shown as in pueblo-founding. The captains accompanied the missionaries that the prestige of the State might confirm the authority of the padre. The record of Captain Hurdaide in the Sinaloa and Yaqui missions has a fainter but true echo in the missions within the Sierra Madres. It was to the San Andrés mining district that Captain Diego de Avila accompanied the padre Hernando de Santarén in the year in question.

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[10] Alegre, I, 395.

A citizen of Durango and an encomendero in his own right, as was also his brother Alonzo, Diego de Avila knew and understood the Indian character, and the Indian turned to him with confidence for help and protection even while he feared his just punishment. The commission issued to Avila by His Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain, Gasper de Zuñiga y Acevedo, gave him broad powers. He was charged to go as captain, pacifier, and judge to those parts of country where the Indians were best disposed to receive the instructions of the padres. There, in union with the priests, he was to gather them into pueblos, pacify, quiet, and protect them, and establish Christian order and discipline in the community.[11] To do this the Indians must be brought down to the plains where there was water and fertile land and the possibility of communication, indispensable for civilized life. Accordingly, messengers were sent scampering over the mountains bearing the captain's summons for all to gather at designated points to confer with him.

With such a primitive people example is more persuasive than argument. Therefore, as the runners bore their message to more distant tribes, the work was begun near at hand among the Indians of La Próspera, a mining camp about a league only from San Andrés. There were assembled the Indians of the *serranía,* who knew some Spanish and who could be counted upon to appreciate better the advantages of *congregación.* The example of the first pueblo would encourage the other more timid tribes to follow suit.

The procedure followed is typical of that used with each successive group. There was first a check-up on the numbers of those present. Were all there? If not, how many were missing? And why? The excuse of harvesting beans and corn rarely failed to account for the absence of those who feared the Spanish influence and the surrender of their wild, free life. Then the padre ordered a cross to be made and erected on a mound where all could see it, and he, the captain, and the other Spaniards prostrated before it. It is not difficult to picture the crowd of curious natives watching the ceremony with silent interest, nor their eagerness to imitate when the father, in their Acaxee tongue, called on them to do the same. At once they were part of the scene, willing to listen to the explanation of this wooden symbol and to learn to make the sign of the cross upon themselves. The newly awakened interest was not left to cool in idleness. Possession having been taken of the spot in the name of the Lord Bishop of the Kingdom, the Indians were set to work building a temporary shelter, a *ramada,* into which all entered—padre, Spaniards, natives—for further instructions and repeated prayers. There was planning, also, for the future. Together they chose the site for the church, marking it off carefully. The Indians cleared the land of its thickets and long grasses, and cut timber for a hut. Later on there was to be a church of adobe, larger and more fitting for divine worship. But even now in its primitive form it was named, and Santa Ana de la Próspera was asked to be the patroness of the new village. The captain promised a picture and a bell, and gave one of his Christian Indians to serve as *temastián.*[12]

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[11] *Documentos,* Serie IV, T. IV, 174.

The Indians were not forgotten in the matter of agrarian organization. Groups were told to choose the land which best suited them for their homes, and to mark out the spot, so that there should be no cause for discord and rivalry in the future. The captain gave each Indian a grant for his land in the name of the king and the viceroy. Sections were reserved, also, for those who were missing, and all appeared happy and contented. A period of six weeks was set by the captain for the removal from the mountains to the new pueblo, with the threat of forced removal if the work were not finished in time.

Scattered through the *Testimonio* are delightful sidelights of human interest, which disclose the childlike, improvident nature of the native. There are requests for food, because the natives had not been able to bring as much as was needed and the supply was all gone.[13] The captain saves the situation, and perhaps the perseverance of the new recruits, by sending post-haste to the mining camp for supplies. At another time it is an order for axes to cut timber for the houses which had been ordered. There were lessons in politeness, also, that must have brought a smile to the faces of the bystanders. The Indians were taught to receive the padres in courtly fashion, to go out to welcome them, to kneel down to kiss their hands with reverence. There were promises of presents for those who worked on points of propriety. Knives, fish, salt, and materials for clothes for themselves and their wives could be won. As all these suggestions were well received, a further advance was made. Since exterior cleanliness was regarded as next to godliness by the padre, obvious steps had to be taken, for, judged by their exterior, the natives exhibited none of virtue's ways. Their hair was long and unkempt. Tactfully the hint was given that only women wore long hair. The men should follow the example of the Spaniards. Indians whose intelligence and training marked them for the offices of *alcaldes* and *alguaciles* were called up and their hair cut, in some cases even by the captain himself "with his own hands and scissors."[14]

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[12] The term *temastián* signifies a catechist or native instructor in Christian Doctrine.

[13] *Ibid.,* 177.

In the appointment of officers a certain distinction is noticeable in the powers of priest and soldier and an evident increase of authority on the part of the captain. In the first journey, in February, the natives of San Diego asked at once for rods of such offices as *alcaldes, alguaciles,* and *fiscales.* The captain replied that the appointment to the first two offices belonged to the governor and his ministers. He could only ask that the favor be granted. Later on, in December, he seems to have been given the power of appointment, for, at each foundation made, *alcaldes* and *alguaciles* were immediately named. From the first, however, the missionaries appointed both *temastián* and *fiscal* to office. The cleverer Indians were naturally selected for these positions. Some, who proved most trustworthy and zealous, were sent, at times, to stir up enthusiasm for the work among the other tribes, or, more often still, to search out the idols hidden in the rancherías.

This idol-worship was the chief obstacle to the work of *congregación.* The Indians persisted in the practice long after open profession of Christianity had been made. In several instances, blame for the misconduct is laid directly on one or two Indians, who were brought before the captain when apprehended, and given six lashes. One of the first conditions set for the new converts was that they give up their idols. Usually threats sufficed to make the idolaters produce them, though pet idols were sometimes retained, hidden in corners and holes for secret worship. Only punishment could bring these to light.

The idols were of diverse size and appearance. One collection consisted of "seventeen packages of stone pieces, some of tortoise shell, others in the shape of birds, dolls, and among these was a little white jaw bone, like that of a child which it is customary to carve and paint as stone. In like manner there were big shin bones and bones of human beings."[15]

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[14] *Ibid.,* 193.

Sometimes the idols were adorned with pieces of home-spun string, tied about the neck as a necklace. These images were thought to be gods of the water, wind, corn, sowings, sickness, and many other things, and parting with them meant a struggle for many a poor native. One instance in which grace won a signal victory is that of Andrés, who came to the fathers at San Pedro y San Pablo on December 11. He had a story that was worth telling, and the careful secretary of the expedition, Martín Duarte, does not let us miss it. This god is described as having

> really and truly a man's face, eyes, nose, mouth, head, and beard. This [idol] Andrés had acquired many years before in this manner. Going into a hill near this pueblo he heard voices as of many persons crying, and they said: "Are you asleep? What are you doing?" Andrés had replied: "I am not asleep." And looking in the direction of the voices, he saw a large form moving away which gave two other cries. As soon as he was assured of its reality, it ran away and disappeared, as it were, into the ground. When he came up to see where and how it had disappeared, he found only this head with eyes, nose, mouth, beard, and neck. This head said to him: "Look, I am god, and I give you permission not to fast, but you will eat deer, and give me always corn and tomales; this is my food." Andrés took it to his house and ordinarily gave it many tomales and much corn, which the idol had eaten and praised many times. Lastly this very night, when Andrés went to take the idol to bring it to the captain and father (as a result of their exhortations) it had spoken to him in his language and said: "I am not the devil, for which reason you bring me to the captain and the father. What have they given you for which you surrender me? Have they given you corn? Have they supported you? This year your house is full of corn and many other things which I have given you." To which Andrés replied that he had to take him. At which the idol wept and appeared very sad. . . . In the morning the idol spoke again: "You take me to die in the power of the father and the captain and these Christians who are in their company. Well, look. My heart goes with my father. We shall see what these Christians will give you."[16]

Mere surrender of idols was not sufficient; they must be completely destroyed. For this purpose a large bonfire was built in the public square, and in the presence of all the Indians the false gods were burnt and "reduced to ashes." The larger ones had first been broken up by the Spaniards.

> The captain and father broke the idols to pieces with their own hands having given great blows with them against the other stones with much

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[15] *Ibid.*, 199.
[16] *Ibid.*, 206-207.

> spiritual consolation, and giving many thanks to Our Lord for the fruit which would be drawn from this journey, pacification, and conversion.[17]

On one occasion when the Spaniards were thus vigorously destroying stone idols, a very aged woman came out of one of the houses of the ranchería. She spoke angrily to them of the vengeance of the gods thus insulted, who would certainly now send the Xiximees to kill the Acaxee Indians. This fear of the hostile Xiximee south of them seems to have been very real and potent among the Acaxee. Protection against them was one of the most efficacious inducements for the *congregación,* and the promise had to be reiterated with emphasis to save the situation.

Another plea for protection, which came to the captain several times in the course of this expedition, had in view an intervention with the minor Spanish officials whose exercise of authority was excessive. One official mentioned in this regard is the magistrate of San Andrés. Avila deferred intervention here in order to avoid the scandal of conflict of authority among the Spaniards. The decision was reserved for the higher authority of the governor. Another such complaint came to the captain one night at eleven-thirty. The Indians of Ocatitlán came to complain "that just after the captain and the fathers had left, Domingo de Tapia (the lieutenant) had entered into the pueblo, molested them, and ordered many things which had not been commanded them." Here was an offense manifestly within his jurisdiction, and the captain, though ill at the time, acted promptly. In spite of the late hour, his devoted secretary was sent to the pueblo to prove to the people that the captain's promise of justice and protection could be trusted. The lieutenant, brought before the captain that same night, was given to understand the necessity of justice and fairness in dealing with the natives.

Though abuses from such minor officials seemed inevitable, measures were taken to guard the Indians from the encroachments of the Spaniards. Early in December an order was issued forbidding anyone "to go to the settlements of the Acaxee Indians or to any one of their houses, without the express order of the captain's lieutenant, who is Gaspar de Tapia, under penalty, for a Spaniard one hundred pesos of common gold, for an Indian two hundred lashes."[18] This order was signed by the captain and proclaimed close to the church door by the voice of Nicolás Ignacio.

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[17] *Ibid.,* 199.

[18] *Ibid.,* 202.

The captain used every means in his power to win the Indians to the new life; threats and punishments were employed only against those who influenced others to persist in idolatry or sinful ways. The vanity of the Indians was humored. Their assumption of Spanish names and titles was respected. The better disposed among them were immediately made aids in the great work. The following incident gives an insight into the captain's tactics. Don Juan, a likely Indian, had been duly instructed, baptized, and married by Father Hernando de Santarén, and appointed *fiscal* and *temastián* of the village of Don Pedro. His influence was growing, and the captain believed in encouraging a good work begun. Before leaving the village he called Don Juan aside for a private interview telling him how much he and the father trusted, loved, and counted on him, and what good he had done and was doing. To show his appreciation the captain wanted to give him a suitable present; he had already given him clothes. Don Juan must have a horse of his own, on which he could ride as privileged as a Spaniard. This was the tenth of December. On Christmas Day he must came to the captain's ranch and choose a horse for himself; he will have just the one he wants. In the meantime he must encourage the other Indians in the work of settlement, telling them that the captain promises them favors, and help and protection against their enemies. He must persuade them to give up their idols and their evil ways and come to the instructions.

Though some Indians opposed the removal to the pueblos, others begged for the privilege as soon as the prosperity and happiness of the settled regions became known. Delegations were sent to speak of their desires to the captain[19] and a date was fixed for their settlement. A striking instance of earnestness in this respect was that of Agustinillo. This chief had brought his people from their rancherías in the heights and had settled in the lower valley, waiting for the coming of the captain and the padres. Eight or nine months were spent there, and some houses were built, but the captain did not come that way. In the meantime, word of the settlement reached the captain, Alonzo Jaramillo, magistrate of San Andrés. Evidently his permission for the settlement had not been asked; at any rate he was displeased. Agustinillo was seized and beaten, but still he waited, hoping against hope for the coming of the padres. At length the Indians felt that they must retire, so they burnt the little village begun with such hope and climbed again to their old rancherías. Then came the captain's summons and word of his approach. Was the delay a test of the sincerity of their desire of conversion? If so, it had done its work. Agustinillo obeyed the call promptly. Again his people descended the mountain and began to build, so that when the father and captain arrived the Indians could point with commendable pride to "three or four finished houses and many others begun." They had even begun work on a house in which the missionaries might live when they came to instruct them. They made one condition, a justifiable one it would seem, that the captain would not allow the magistrate of San Andrés "to do them harm, separate, or disturb them, and in return they would obey the father and captain in all things, as they had done in former times."

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[19] *Ibid.,* 186.

This mention of former times implies a previous instruction in Christianity, probably during the missionary tours made in this country in the last years of the sixteenth century. Agustinillo's people were not the only ones who had met the missionaries. Other groups of Indians were found who had been taught the prayers in Latin, "a Latin," the secretary adds, "so badly pronounced that in all the four prayers they do not pronounce two words well."[20] "They say 'Pater noster quiet in celis, etc.' "[21] Therefore they rejoiced at receiving a missionary who could speak their own tongue and they begged the father to come to their pueblos that they may know what they ought to believe, and who God is, where He is, and the benefits which they have received from Him.[22]

It may be enlightening to follow the missionaries in a typical day's work—that of December 14 at San Diego. There one hundred and sixty-three Indians had gathered, some from distant parts, for instruction. Baptism and the other sacraments were administered with appropriate advice for each group. Then came the formal ceremony of taking possession of the town in the name of the new bishop, and of the governor, followed by another speech. Rebellious Indians were summoned before the captain and punished. While the captain chose *alcaldes* and *alguaciles,* and encouraged the people to plant trees, raise chickens, etc., Father Santarén appointed a *temastián* and fiscal and entered the records in the books. There were hair-cuttings, land was chosen and allotted, and further instructions were given. Indians coming in late were instructed, baptized, and married, with "love, charity, and patience."

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[20] *Ibid.,* 251.
[21] *Ibid.,* 248.
[22] *Ibid.*

About three in the afternoon, the entire party was setting out for San Martín, a distance of more than five leagues, when reports of relapses into idolatry came to worry them. On the way some Indians, whom they were bringing to San Martín for settlement, deserted, "going secretly into the *quebrada*." When the captain discovered the deception, a council was held on the spot. He was eager to pursue and bring back the delinquents; but, "after each one had given his opinion," it was decided to ignore the trickery and wait, hoping to win these people back at a next visit, for they were not yet docile and friendly.

It was an hour after sunset when the travelers arrived at San Martín, but there, also, "many people were waiting at the door of the church." If they had the temptation to slip around another way, they resisted it manfully. Both the father and the captain embraced the people and thanked them for their punctuality in coming. Then the secretary adds laconically—"the father taught the doctrina many times." The captain, meanwhile, was busy issuing orders of protection and appointment.

The final record of the expedition shows ten villages founded. In each of these towns, tribes from several rancherías were gathered. The site chosen was close to the highway running from Culiacán to San Andrés. The advantages of the trade with the passersby were kept before the natives. They were told that they would draw profits from it, with which they could buy new clothes for themselves and for their wives. They could learn the Spanish ways. They would have protection against their enemies. These advantages were obvious, but to the captain the chief advantage of the settlement lay in its position on a well-traveled road. This situation would be a factor in the destruction of idolatry. There life would be lived with the European close at hand, and it would not be so easy to slip away to the old haunts and carry on the ancient feasts and revels. Pagan idols once destroyed must not be set up again. A new environment, new occupations, new profits, and unwonted ease were to be had in the pueblos.

If the difficult time of settlement could be passed successfully, Christianity might yet flourish among these people. This was the basic cause of the settlements, the great work on which priest and soldier alike were set. If this were achieved, the labor and suffering would not have been in vain.

CATHERINE M. McSHANE

The Observance of the Marquette Tercentenary

THE CELEBRATION IN FRANCE

Jacques Marquette, the sixth child of the marriage of Nicholas Marquette[1] and Rose de la Salle, was born in the historic city of Laon, France, on Monday, June 1, 1637. His birthplace on Champ Saint-Martin, later the Free School for Girls of the Community of Marquette Sisters, founded by his sister, Françoise, unfortunately disappeared during the last century, but stood on the present site of the houses numbered 3-8 of the new Rue Marcelin Berthelot.[2] The citizenry of modern Laon, aware of his achievements, and wishing to pay tribute to one of her greatest sons, were the first to plan exercises to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the birth of Father Marquette. Senator Rillart de Verneuil expressed the tercentenary sentiment of Laon in these words:

> The boast of Laon has been that of being one of the first free communes in history, of having stood over a long period as the second capital of the Kings of France, and of having served as the cradle of many sovereigns, of having erected in the thirteenth century a cathedral which possessed the most beautiful towers in the world. . . . All these souvenirs, one might say, linked Laon with a glorious past. Through Marquette she is bound to the future since the lands where he instilled civilization as well as the faith, are in the full flower of their vigorous and fecund youth.[3]

A group in Laon, including six great-grandnephews of Father Marquette, took the initiative by organizing a committee in France to mark this tercentenary with a monument in his natal city. The Laon committee was international in scope, including among its patrons and honorary members, the French hierarchy, high officials of the French Government, members of the French Academy, the United States Ambassador, the Canadian Minister, and leading French, Canadian, and American historians. A prospectus bearing the names of the fifty-seven members of the honorary committee and twenty-three members of the active committee, describing the project with a picture of the proposed monument by the sculptor Jean Topin, was circularized in France, the United States, and Canada.

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[1] Genealogy of Father Marquette, Archives, St. Mary's College, Montreal.

[2] *Jacques Marquette et L'Inauguration de son Monument à Laon,* published by Tablettes d'Aisne, Laon, 1937.

[3] *The New World,* Volume XLV, No. 20, May 14, 1937.

On learning of the Marquette Tercentenary plans in France, a group of American laymen,[4] in November, 1936, immediately made inquiry to ascertain whether similar exercises were being planned in the United States. After diligent inquiry disclosed that no plans were being made to observe the event in America, the group circularized American schools, colleges, learned societies, and leaders among the clergy and laity, to encourage national and local celebrations of the event. A most favorable response promised a complete American observance of the event; it was apparent no central or national committee would be required to assure success. Very Reverend Michael J. Ready, General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Honorable F. Ryan Duffy, United States Senator from Wisconsin, made plans for a national observance; Marquette University, the city of Marquette, Michigan, the city of Ludington, Michigan, and the city of Chicago, ever conscious of Marquette's contribution to America, planned civic and religious exercises; writers, editors, and teachers agreed to mark the tercentenary in their respective fields.

THE CELEBRATION IN FRANCE

The French Mission, organized by the Franco-American Committee to observe the 250th anniversary of the death of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, and the tercentenary of the birth of Marquette, opened the celebration of the Marquette Tercentenary in France, as the commission sailed from Le Havre on March 11, 1937, to visit the regions and places in the United States associated with Father Marquette and La Salle. Among the members were Andrew Chevrillon of the French Academy; Louis Marlio of the Academy of Moral Sciences; General Perrière of the Academy of Sciences; Fortuna Strowski of the Institute and delegate of the University of Paris; President Laurent of the Paris Municipal Council; Madame Marcelle Tinayre, novelist; Prince and Princess Achille Murat, and Gabriel Louis Jaray, organizer of the mission. This group was augmented by the Canadian group. They arrived at New Orleans and traveled up the Mississippi to Chicago. After a visit to Quebec, they were received by the Mayor of New York City and thence departed for France. While the French

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[4] Associated with the Loyola House of Retreats, Morristown, N. J.

Mission was in the United States, *L'Illustration* issued a special France-America number[5] commemorating the tercentenary with feature articles on Marquette, prints of old seventeenth-century maps of North America, and splendid illustrations, including cuts of both sides of the Marquette Tercentenary Medal issued by the Paris mint. The face of the medal bears the bearded profile of Marquette circumscribed with the inscription "Jacques Marquette, 1637-1937." The following appears on the reverse side:

"1637—1937
Tri-Centenaire—de Jacques Marquette
Missionnaire et explorateur
Francais—né à Laon
Explorateur de l'Amérique—du Nord
Le Wisconsin—le Mississipi—le Missouri—l'Ohio
l'Illinois—le Saint-Laurent"

The Laon Exercises

The old glory of Laon was awakened on Sunday, June 13, 1937, and the entire day was passed paying homage to the revered son of Laon who conquered the American wilderness in deed and in faith. His father, Nicholas Marquette, had espoused the cause of Henry of Navarre with so much ardor that he was banished from Laon only to return honored and with added wealth and powers when Henry became king. Like his father, Jacques Marquette surrendered the world at Laon for the King of Kings and returned in spirit triumphant on June 13 to a place beside the immortals of the proud and ancient city.

The exercises of the day opened with the celebration of Solemn High Mass in Laon's famed cathedral within the sound of whose bells the boy Jacques was born thirty decades ago. The celebrant was M. l'abbé Pierre Barbier, Director of the Seminary at Soissons, and great-grandnephew of Father Marquette. Seated in the sanctuary, which was draped with the French, American, and Papal flags, were distinguished members of the hierarchy of France, Adélard Dugré, S. J., delegate of the Superior General of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Bernard Leib, Provincial of the Society of Jesus of Champagne, A. de Parvillez, S. J., Pastor of Notre Dame of Liesse, the priests of Laon, and the members of the Marquette family. The parish choir sang a special Mass in four parts composed by the Jesuits at Metz. The vast cathedral was filled for the occasion. Father Dugré preached the sermon on Marquette, pointing to the material hardships overcome by Marquette and Jolliet in their trek through the American forests, as evidence that their success was a conquest by spiritual power.

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[5] *L'Illustration* No. 4910, April 10, 1937, Paris, France.

The City Hall, adorned with French and American flags, was the place of assembly for a parade accompanying the guests of the day to the scene of the unveiling of the monument. Led by the Mayor and Municipal Council, the autos bearing the guests were followed by the civic, historic, and learned societies of Laon, and those of neighboring towns. With bands, banners, and regimental colors of the French armies of the ancient past, soldiers of past campaigns, boy scouts, military, athletic, and civic societies, the parade marched along the street where Jacques Marquette was born, to the Square de la Porte de Soissons, where the monument stands in full view of the Soissons national highway. In the presence of the Marquette family, representatives of France and United States, the French hierarchy, and the Society of Jesus, after the playing of the "Marseillaise" and the "Star Spangled Banner," a flight of pigeons was released, and as they rose in flight, Senator Rillart de Verneuil presented the monument to the city of Laon.

While the Senator spoke, Mr. Charles Westercamp placed at the base of the monument a nugget of copper from Lake Superior mines and gave to the Mayor a coffer of blessed soil taken from the place where Marquette died. The nugget was sent by Mme. Paul of Marquette, Michigan, and the soil was sent by the citizens of Ludington, Michigan. Mr. Westercamp then poured over the base of the monument water taken from the Mississippi at the place where Marquette first sighted the Father of Waters at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. The Mississippi water was sent by the students and professors of Marquette University as a token of American appreciation to the citizens of Laon. There had also been superimposed on either sides of the plaque, slabs of granite from the Marquette, Michigan, quarries, bearing the coat of arms of France and the Indian emblem of the Morning Star. These tokens were sent by the citizens of Chicago. The nugget of copper, chest of sand, and water cask, with papers attesting their origins, were sealed in the corner stone of the monument.

At the conclusion of the Senator's presentation address, Mr. Charles Westercamp, French Secretary of the Laon Committee, unveiled France's first monument to Father Marquette.

Set on a base of five granite steps against a background of twin granite shafts, a bronze plaque portrays in unbearded profile the full length figure of the young Jesuit explorer-priest. Bronze was cast from old sous given by the citizens of Laon and pennies sent by the school children of Marquette, Michigan. Flanking Marquette in the lower background is Louis Jolliet kneeling in the prow of a canoe, and an American Indian seated in the same canoe. On the base of the plaque is inscribed:

A
JACQUES MARQUETTE
Grand Missionnaire
Pionnier de la Civilisation
Né à Laon le 1 Juin 1637
Mort au Canada, 16 Mai 1675
Ses compatriotes—Ses admirateurs
Que le Soleil est beau, français,
Quand tu nous viens visiter.
HIAWATHA

In accepting the statue the Mayor of Laon closed his address with these expressive words:

> In greeting Mr. Murphy, representative of the Ambassador of the United States, and Mr. Kidder, delegate from Marquette, who have honored this ceremony by their presence, I wish to express to them publicly how appreciative we are of this veneration which their countrymen manifest towards Marquette.
>
> We like to see in this one more proof of the friendship which unites our two great democratic republics, one more attestation of a common bond which seems the best guarantee of international peace.
>
> We pride ourselves on the fact that this local celebration is a reflection of Franco-American feeling and our greatest hope is that it will tend to link more closely the bonds of friendship which unite these two great nations.

Mr. H. H. Kidder of Marquette, Michigan, representing the American city named after the favored son of Laon, was then introduced and in his address described the new statue:

> His self-reliance and calm serenity are reflected in the features and the entire mien of this fine statue, which is, I believe, a true likeness and clear interpretation of his expression. This calmness is in striking contrast to the severe labors, hard sufferings and inevitable end of his mission. His courage and gaiety under trials, his intelligence, his noble simplicity and his sacrifice inspired by a burning faith, in a word his consecration to a high ideal, create in us and leave in us an imperishable memory.
>
> It is in this precious memory that we hold so dear in common with our

friends of Laon, that our Mayor appointed me to bear the salutations of our young city to your ancient city, the birthplace of Father Marquette.

M. Gabriel Hanotaux, member of the French Academy, then reviewed the exploits of Father Marquette in a learned and scholarly address. Mr. Robert Murphy, First Secretary of the United States Embassy at Paris and graduate of Marquette University, then spoke as the representative of the United States and Marquette University. The Honorable François de Tessan, Under-Secretary of State, addressed the assemblage on behalf of the President of France, saying in part: "It is the spirit of love and of peace transmitted by the French pioneers to the New World and by their American successors, which must inspire and fortify us in our hope and in our desire for universal international peace." With the singing of the hymn "France" by the choral Union, the exercises of dedication of the first monument to Father Marquette in France were closed.

A banquet followed, attended by the honored guests and celebrants. After dinner, Honorable Jean Latour, Prefect of the Aisne, spoke on American good will evoked by the Marquette tercentenary; Mr. Charles Westercamp, as Secretary of the Laon Committee and President of the Academic Society of Laon, which sponsored the project, then reviewed the work of the Committee, acknowledging the services and contributions of persons and organizations in France and the United States, emphasizing particularly the good will created between the United States and France by Father Marquette. Mr. Westercamp closed with these laudatory words: "Glory to the son of Laon, Jacques Marquette, superb and sublime bond between our two countries." Toasts were then tendered by the Mayor of Laon, Under-Secretary of State de Tessan, and Mr. Gabriel Hanotaux of the French Academy. With a gala tercentenary concert in the evening, another great day became a part of Laon's historic past.

THE NATIONAL CELEBRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The tercentenary of the birth of Père Marquette was officially observed in the United States by Public Resolution[6] of Congress and Proclamation[7] of the President of the United States, directing all Government officials to display the flag of the United States on all Government buildings on the first day of June, 1937, and inviting all people of the United States to observe that day and the anniversary year in schools, churches, and other suitable places with appropriate ceremonies commemorating the tercentenary. The tribute of the Congress and of the President of the United States to Father Marquette, was the prelude to patriotic and religious commemorative exercises on the tercentenary day in the nation's capital and throughout the country where his memory is revered.

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[6] Public Resolution No. 33, 75th Congress, First Session.

[7] Presidential Proclamation made May 27, 1937.

Sponsored by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, under the direction of the Very Reverend Monsignor Michael J. Ready, assisted by William F. Montavon, Esquire,[8] the Reverend Laurence J. Kelly, S. J.,[9] and Eugene J. Butler, Esquire,[10] national exercises in tribute to the zealous and fearless pioneer American explorer and missionary were conducted in Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol on Tuesday, June 1, 1937, at ten o'clock in the morning, before the Trentanove statue[11] of Marquette. The exercises opened with the invocation of the Most Reverend John M. McNamara, Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore, and with the reading of the Proclamation of the President of the United States. Wreaths were placed at the base of the statue by young women of Trinity College and the National Catholic School of Social Science. There followed addresses by representatives of the Society of Jesus, representatives of Marquette's native land and the States of the Middle West, where he labored and died. Reverend Edmund A. Walsh, S. J., Vice-President of Georgetown University, representing the Society of Jesus, stressed these contributions of Marquette:

> His documents constitute one of the most important contributions to early Americana containing, as they do, comments on geography, topography, and ethnology, on the location of villages and settlements, on tides and tributary waterways, on the customs of the aborigines, on the nature of the vegetation, game and all animal life. He even includes some shrewd estimates concerning the possibilities of future commercial developments.

The Honorable Jules Henry, Minister Plenipotentiary, Counselor of the Embassy of France, said:

> On behalf of his native country, where he spent his youthful years preparing himself, through meditation and study, for the great tasks that awaited him across the ocean, let me acknowledge the signal honor which,

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[8] Director of the Legal Department of the N. C. W. C.

[9] Rector, St. Aloysius Church, Washington, D. C.

[10] Assistant to Mr. Montavon.

[11] Erected by the State of Wisconsin as the tribute of that state to Father Marquette in 1892. See John A. Brosnan, S. J., "Marquette in the Hall of Fame," *Jesuit Seminary News,* Vol. 12, No. 4, July-August, 1937.

in the impressive setting of the Capitol of the United States, is being extended to a beloved son of France.

The envoy then read the following message sent by the Honorable Yvon Delbos, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France:

> The Government of the Republic and the French nation have learned with feelings of emotion and gratitude of the resolution passed by the Congress of the United States for the commemoration of the tercentenary of the birth of Father Marquette.
>
> We are deeply moved by such a tribute being paid to the memory of a Frenchman who, through self-sacrifice and courage, devoted his whole life to the service of mankind. The discoveries of Marquette, nearly three centuries ago, have opened the first chapter of the history of French-American friendship. By commemorating now this anniversary, the American nation again testifies of its faithfulness and devotion to a common past, which France acknowledges and appreciates to its full value.

Honorable Prentiss M. Brown, United States Senator from Michigan, whose home at Saint Ignace is the place of Father Marquette's burial, told how his study of the *Jesuit Relations* led him to a deep appreciation of the achievements of Father Marquette, whose journeys he traced out carefully and studiously:

> When one understands the background of the times and hardships and handicaps which Pere Marquette overcame, the accomplishments of the intrepid explorer and missionary are brought out in clear and bold relief. Marquette pressed steadily forward in his explorations and missionary work when he had every reason to believe that he was always marching forward toward almost certain death.

The Honorable Louis C. Rabaut, member of Congress from Michigan, paid tribute to the spiritual achievement of Father Marquette in these words:

> I like to think of him as a missionary going from cabin to cabin bringing the word of God and resolving, because of diminished strength, to have a great meeting in the open. I like to picture him upon that Holy Thursday with the sachems gathered about him, and next in the circle the braves, and finally the whole population of the place, even to the children.

Others taking part in the exercises included Honorable Robert M. LaFollette and Honorable F. Ryan Duffy, United States Senators from Wisconsin, Representatives Mary T. Norton and Edward L. O'Neil of New Jersey, Representatives Raymond S. McKeough and Harry P. Beam of Illinois, Representative Albert J. Engel of Michigan, members of the Glee Club of Catholic University, who sang under the direction of Professor Leo Behrendt, and representatives of Marquette University. William F. Montavon presided over the exercises, which closed with a benediction by Very Reverend Monsignor Michael J. Ready, and the singing of the National Anthem by students of Georgetown University.

Honorable F. Ryan Duffy, United States Senator from Wisconsin, the state Marquette crossed on his way to discover the upper Mississippi,[12] took an active part in the national observance of the tercentenary. In advance of the tercentenary day, he notified the Clerk of the Senate of his intention to address the Senate on June 1, and shortly after the Senate convened at noon on that day, the Senator rose to laud the glories of a humble priest who entered the American wilderness one hundred years before the United States was conceived. Senator Duffy entered the Marquette Tercentenary Proclamation of President Roosevelt in the Congressional Record and thence delivered a praiseworthy address on Father Marquette.[13] In his opening remarks the Senator, citing Thwaites, cleared the confusion as to the date of Father Marquette's birth, authoritatively fixing June 1 as the natal day of the American pioneer and missionary.[14] He traced the early life and training of Marquette in France, his ambition for the foreign missions and final appointment to the Ottawa mission. Thence he traced the course of his missionary journeys with Louis Jolliet, across Wisconsin to the discovery of the Upper Mississippi. The address, now part of the official record of our nation, replete with accurate detail of the life and death of Father Marquette and his contributions to America, paid American homage to the holy and humble priest who died in our wilderness in search of souls. This record is one to which succeeding generations may turn and be edified.

The radio broadcast of the dramatization of the life of Father Marquette by the Friars of the Atonement from their studio at Graymoor, Garrison, New York, over the Ave Maria Hour, on Sunday, May 30, 1937 (Memorial Day), was also national in scope. There were two live broadcasts dramatizing the life of Father Marquette on this day, the first through radio station WLW of Cincinnati, Ohio, over a network covering the Mid West, the second through WMCA of New York City over the inter-city network reaching the Eastern and Middle Atlantic states from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. By electrical transcription the same broadcast was heard through 134 radio stations throughout the United States. Reverend Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., of Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, authority on Marquettiana, collaborated in the preparation of the script for the dramatization and acted as narrator on the program. Senor Alfredo Antonini, New York maestro, improvised a musical setting of Indian themes for the drama. Father Anselm Francis, Director of the Ave Maria Hour, planned and directed the broadcast as a patriotic and religious tribute to the Jesuit missionary and American explorer.

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[12] At Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, June 17, 1673.

[13] *Congressional Record,* 75th Congress, First Session, Vol. 18, No. 103, page 6701.

[14] Senate Joint Resolution 139, 75th Congress, First Session, passed April 29, 1937, had erroneously provided for the tercentenary celebration on June 10, 1937. This error was corrected by House Joint Resolution 359 passed May 13 (calendar day May 19), 1937.

Local Exercises in the United States

Early in the Spring of 1937, Marquette University made plans for the observance of the tercentenary by organizing the Father Marquette Anniversary Committee of over two hundred honorary members, including the hierarchy of the Mid-West, the Governor of Wisconsin, the United States Senators and Representatives from Wisconsin, religious, clergy, and laity, including leaders from every walk of life, without regard to creed. Reverend Raphael N. Hamilton, S. J., of Marquette University, as chairman of the Executive Committee, was most active in support of the mid-western and national tercentenary exercises. On May 12, 1937, Reverend Raphael C. McCarthy, S. J., President of Marquette University, presided at a convocation of students and faculty members in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of the namesake of the University. At the Marquette Tercentenary convocation of the University, honorary degrees were bestowed on Reverend Bernard R. Hubbard, S. J., "the glacier priest," Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, University of California historian, and Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Reverend William M. Magee, S. J., delivered the address of the occasion on "Marquette, Man of Ideals."

Ludington, Michigan, was the scene of simple services on May 30, when Marquette University sponsored a pilgrimage of students and faculty across Lake Michigan from Milwaukee to the cross-marked knoll overlooking Pere Marquette Lake. Services at the site included remarks by Very Reverend Raphael C. McCarthy, S. J., Marquette University President. The historical importance of the pilgrimage was explained by Reverend Raphael

N. Hamilton, S. J., head of the University history department. Father Hamilton announced that an alumni fund had been started to erect a bronze cross in place of the wooden cross that now marks the site of the Xaverian death of Father Marquette. Water from the Mississippi was then sprinkled at the base of the cross, and a cask of sand from the site was presented by the Marquette Memorial Association of Ludington to be placed in the Marquette University archives. Wreaths were then laid at the base of the cross on behalf of the Marquette student body and the city of Ludington. C. Laurence Lind, of the Ludington Chamber of Commerce, was master of ceremonies. Solemn Mass was celebrated for the pilgrims by Reverend Raphael C. McCarthy, S. J., at St. Simon's Church, Ludington.

Other tercentenary affairs on the Marquette University program included special services at the June Commencement, public addresses during the tercentenary year, radio sketches and a three-day civic pageant in which one thousand citizens of the city of Milwaukee participated on November 9, 10, and 11, 1937.[15] In a number of cities in Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan commemorative exercises were held.

December 4 is annual Marquette Day in Chicago in commemoration of that day in 1674 when Marquette first set foot on Chicago soil. This year special ceremonies were arranged for June 1 by the Marquette Day Committee under the chairmanship of the Honorable Joseph Burke, Judge of the Cook County Circuit Court. Governor Henry Horner issued a Proclamation designating June 1 as Père Jacques Marquette Day, as did Mayor Edward J. Kelly of Chicago. A number of Consuls responded to the invitation of Judge Burke, signifying their intention to be present at one or both of the services: Tschou-kwong R. Kah, Consul-General of China; Robert Ross, Acting British Consul-General; Michael F. Girten, Austrian Consul-General; Rene Weiller, Consul-General for France; R. Baumann, Consul-General of Denmark; C. C. Caedren, Consul for Estonia; Richard E. Westbrook, Consul of the Republic of Liberia; F. Fontana, Royal Italian Consul-General; Nathal William MacChesney, Consul-General of Siam; Antonio L. Schmidt, Consul of Mexico; Feliciano Montenegro, Consul of Venezuela; P. Dauzvardis, Consul of Lithuania; John Vennema, Consul-General of the Netherlands;

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[15] "The Restless Flame," depicting the "restless flame" that in different ages lured Greeks, Vikings, Spaniards and, in turn, Marquette, into unknown seas and lands.

G. Oldenburg, Consul for Sweden. Solemn Mass was celebrated at Holy Name Cathedral, attended by the Mayor, the City Council, members of the Consular Corps, and distinguished guests. Monsignor Morrison, pastor, celebrated the Mass, and Reverend William M. Magee, President of John Carroll University, preached the sermon. From the church the Committee and guests were escorted by the Black Horse troop to the northeast pylon of the Michigan Avenue bridge, where exercises were held in front of the bas-relief of Marquette. Honorable John P. McGoorty spoke on behalf of the Governor, and Representative Michael L. Igoe on behalf of the Federal government. A pageant of canoes depicting the landing of Marquette, added color to the exercises, which closed with a salute fired by a detachment from the United States Army and Navy, and the playing of the national anthems of France and the United States.

This, the tercentenary year, was the third year of the performance of the Marquette pageant by the city of Ludington, Michigan. Over four hundred characters unfolded the "Drama of the Northwest," centered on the achievements of Father Marquette, on the four evenings of August 5 to 8 at Oreole Field, Ludington. The pageant this year received the blessing of His Holiness Pope Pius XI who, in his message to Ludington, expressed his pleasure for "the honor which is being done to the memory of the glorious pioneer of Christian civilization in the New World." President Roosevelt joined in praise of Father Marquette in the following letter addressed to the "Marquette Tercentenary Edition" of the *Ludington Daily News:*

> It is indeed fitting that the Ludington Daily News should commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jacques Marquette, the intrepid explorer-missionary whose achievements make his place secure in history for all time to come. Valiant as well as versatile, he overcame hardships that would have discouraged a soul not fired with zeal for a spiritual ideal. When death finally ended his labors near the present site of your city, he could have had little realization of the enduring character of the foundations he had laid. And so with a clear historic perspective, we acclaim him, three hundred years after his birth, as one of those pioneers worthy of everlasting remembrance.

After the pageant was enacted each evening, flares illuminated Marquette's death site on the knoll across Lake Pere Marquette in full view from the city. Boxes of sand from the site were prepared, blessed, and sent to Laon, France, as well as to ten American cities for Marquette exercises at memorials, statues, and markers.

The tercentenary was celebrated at Auriesville, New York, at the Shrine of the North American Martyrs on Sunday, September 12, where Most Reverend Bernard J. Mahoney, D. D., Bishop of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, pontificated at Solemn Mass in the Coliseum. The Reverend John J. McGrath, S. J., preached a sermon on the virtues of Father Marquette, pointing out that from boyhood Father Marquette must have had a mind to be assigned to the missions at Auriesville, where the first Jesuit Martyrs of North America attained the palm.

Tuesday, June 1, was officially designated Marquette Day in the State of Wisconsin, by Proclamation of the Governor. At the Governor's suggestion, flags flew in every city of the State and many local exercises were held in honor of Marquette, of whom Governor LaFollette said, in his official proclamation:

> It is fitting on this tercentenary of Father Marquette's birth that we in Wisconsin should appropriately honor him and renew the great tradition that is part of our history, commemorate the work of this heroic messenger of Christianity to God's children in the wilderness, which was Wisconsin, and do honor to great qualities of high souled devotion to an ideal of duty, to personal sacrifice without stint for love of fellowman.

The literature of the tercentenary emphasized the need and value of an adequate biography of Father Marquette of the scholarly type. From scattered gleanings and recently discovered letters[16] of Father Marquette, a quantity of interesting and valuable literature was produced in the form of tercentenary tributes. *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*[17] published a Marquette Tercentenary number in May, with a full color cover depicting Marquette and Jolliet with their map of the Mississippi, in discussion with a group of Indians on the shore of the great river Mississippi. A colored frontispiece depicted the peaceful death of Marquette on the bare ground of the wilderness. This number also contains articles on Marquettiana by Reverend Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., of Detroit University, and Charles J. Mullally, S. J., the editor. The leading article in *The Catholic World*[18] for June was a tercentenary tribute to Father Jacques Marquette by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg. *Jesuit Missions* carried articles on Father Marquette and the tercentenary exercises, with pictures, one of the Trentanove statue in the Capitol at Washington.[19]

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[16] MID-AMERICA, Vol. 18, New Series Vol. 7, No. 1.

[17] *The Messenger of the Sacred Heart,* Vol. LXXII, No. 5, May, 1937.

[18] *The Catholic World,* Vol. CXLV, No. 867, June, 1937.

[19] *Jesuit Missions,* Vol. XI, No. 5, May, 1937, Vol. XI, No. 6, June, 1937.

The Catholic weekly *America* carried an article by Reverend Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., which concluded with these significant words:

> Venturesome explorer, ardent missionary, devout follower of Christ, Pere Marquette is on all counts a figure to inspire and uplift. May the memory of him with its grace, its charm, its call to the higher things of life continue to be what it is to-day, a cherished spiritual possession of our people.[20]

The America Press published a forty-eight page pamphlet, written as a brief life of Marquette by Father Garraghan,[21] when it was discovered that literature on the life of Father Marquette was lacking and that the few biographies that have been written are out of print. At the end of this concise biography may be found an excellent bibliography of Marquettiana.

On the tercentenary day, Marquette editorials appeared in many leading newspapers, notably the *New York Times,* the *New York American,* the *Washington Herald,* the *New York Herald Tribune,* and *New York Evening Sun.* The editorial in the *New York Times* opened with these significant sentences:

> The Church having canonized Pere Jogues and other missionary martyrs of the Saint Lawrence and the Mohawk Valleys, should be adding to the list the name of Pere Marquette, of what we now call the Middle West. He did not, as Jogues, come to a death by violence; but he faced like perils and looked death in the face more than once. Moreover he endured physical hardships and rigors in his missionary journeyings which only a man of stout purpose and pure heart could have borne. As it was he died when only 38 years old. . . . He deserves a day in our calendar of remembrance.

An editorial on Father Marquette in the *Boston Pilot,* June 26, 1937, closed in these words of tribute:

> On the tercentenary of his birth, the world honors the fearless adventurer, the discoverer. But the Catholic Church thinks of him first as a devoted great-hearted priest—a shining image of St. Paul.

Thus, the celebration was widely recognized as an historic event of civic and religious importance in the history of France and of the United States, with great significance to the world at large. The factors which contributed to this recognition have been reviewed, but the ultimate factor in the achievement of the tercentenary observance, the dominant note of the whole occasion, and the touchstone of success, was the personal and spiritual charm of Father Marquette, whereby he lives in the hearts of his countrymen on both sides of the Atlantic, as warmly and effectively today as during his short life span of thirty-eight years, lived devotedly three hundred years ago.

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[20] *America,* Vol. LVII, No. 9, June 5, 1937.

[21] *Marquette, Ardent Missioner, Daring Explorer,* America Press, 53 Park Place, New York City.

ARTHUR J. O'DEA

Marquette's Titles to Fame

The nationwide honors paid to the memory of Father Jacques Marquette on the occasion of the tercentenary of his birth, June 1, 1937, make it opportune to discuss the question as to what after all are his titles to fame. Beyond all controversy his figure is fixed in the imagination, not to say the affections, of the American public. Interest in him is constantly on the rise. "His fame seems to wax as the decades succeed one another," a well-known authority in Mississippi Valley history has written of him. Obviously, there is no reason to suppose that this fame has no other basis on which to rest except myth, legend, mistaken views in history; it must rest on solid ground. Let us see what the nature of this ground really is. Marquette's titles to fame may be regarded as falling into two groups, those which he shares with Jolliet and those which are personal to himself.

JOLLIET-MARQUETTE TITLES

(a) *The Canadian, Louis Jolliet, and the Frenchman, Father Jacques Marquette, were the first white men to explore the Mississippi River.* This they did in their historic expedition of 1673, which brought them along almost the entire length of the great waterway, from the Wisconsin to the Arkansas. The epoch-making character of the expedition is admitted on all hands. What invests it with unique significance is the circumstance that it gave the world its first particularized knowledge of America's most splendid valley, initiating at the same time a movement that led to the opening up and settlement of the same. The Spaniards, it is true, had beaten the Frenchmen to it by a wide margin of years in looking upon Mississippi waters; but their finding of them was sterile of result. "Except as a basis for subsequent territorial claims its [the Mississippi's] discovery by the Spaniards might as well never have occurred," wrote Frederick Austin Ogg, American historian of note. "The whole work of discovery had to be wrought anew nearly a century and a half later and by the efforts of a different people." A well-known Marquette authority, Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg, in her presidential address at the Lexington, Kentucky, meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1930, was emphatic in her denial of the historical significance of the Spanish discovery of the Mississippi. Moreover, using the same words that occur in the inscription on the Marquette statue in the Capitol, Washington, she spoke of Jolliet and Marquette as having "discovered the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin." Scholars do not use words lightly; there must be warrant for the use of the term "discovered" in this connection. Plainly, it is a question whether there is any impropriety, verbal, logical, historical or of any other sort in applying the term "discoverer" to one who rediscovers, with ensuing practical results, land or water, a first discovery of which proved abortive as far as practical results were concerned and became, to all intents and purposes, lost to memory. The world has not thought so in the case of Columbus. It calls him the discoverer of America, though his finding of it was not an actual discovery, but a rediscovery, the Norsemen having preceded him by centuries in landing on American shores. But their discovery led to no permanent result and by common accord the name of discoverer of America has gone to Columbus. The parallelism in the case of Jolliet and Marquette is complete. Certainly it is irrational to allege that calling them discoverers of the Mississippi is a virtual denial of the Spanish discovery as it would be equally irrational to allege that calling Columbus discoverer of America carries with it a denial of the Norse discovery.

The present writer is accustomed to qualify the Mississippi as "the Upper" when designating Jolliet and Marquette as discoverers of that river. But scholars who prefer to omit the qualification know what they are doing and have an answer at hand for any one who calls their usage into question.

Let it be noted that Jolliet and Marquette have their place in history as having been the *effective,* the *virtual,* not the *actual,* the *technical* discoverers of the Mississippi.

(b) *Jolliet and Marquette were the actual discoverers of a whole series of western rivers,—the Missouri, the Ohio, the Illinois, the Chicago, probably the Wisconsin.* In the finding of these they were not preceded by other explorers as was the case in the Mississippi. The earliest appearance of these waterways in cartography is on the Jolliet and Marquette maps; the earliest particulars we possess about them are to be found in the accounts left by the same explorers. They may have been preceded in acquaintance with the Wisconsin by Radisson; but the case that can be made out for him is a doubtful one at the best. The Missouri, the Illinois, the Chicago offer no difficulty whatever, nor for that matter does the Ohio. Scholarly opinion never was favorable to La Salle's claim to be the discoverer of the Ohio, and recent research has disposed of it altogether.

Jolliet and Marquette were therefore "discoverers" over and over again in the most exacting sense of the term. To suppose that, when they are qualified as such, reference is necessarily made to the Mississippi is illusory.

(c) *Jolliet and Marquette put the trans-Mississippi West on the map.* This is true even in a literal sense. The earliest appearance of the Missouri River in cartography is on the maps made by the two explorers. Moreover, their maps indicate by name many of the trans-Mississippi Indian tribes, as the Osage, the Kansas, the Omaha, the Missouri. Mention of these names, now part and parcel of American history, on the maps in question is the earliest on record. The world, therefore, made its first acquaintance with the American Great West through the cartographical and other records of Jolliet and Marquette. This distinction of theirs, hardly ever adverted to in the history books, is of itself enough to entitle them to a major place in the history of American exploration.

(d) *The history of America's second largest city, Chicago, begins with Jolliet and Marquette.* They discovered its site, September, 1673, discovering at the same time the famous Chicago portage or "carrying place," the physical factor which more than anything else in the material order made the growth of a great city at the mouth of the Chicago River inevitable. This narrow ribbon of land, its location now well within the city limits, linked up the two greatest watersheds of North America, those of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and made communication between the two for travel and trade a possibility. The history of Chicago in its beginnings and for long after is written around the Portage. To have been the first of white men to know and speak of this historic physical feature in written record is surely a title of the first order to the praise of posterity. Justly does Chicago cherish the memory of these two seventeenth-century explorers whose fascinating figures greet us on the very opening page of the city's history. A tablet set up by the Chicago Historical Society marks the location of the Chicago Portage, "the earliest factor in determining Chicago's commercial supremacy . . . discovered by Joliet and Marquette in 1673," as the inscription reads. Another tablet, this one set up by the Colonial Dames of America on a balustrade of the Michigan Avenue Bridge, is "in honor of Louis Joliet and Pere Marquette, the first white men to pass through the Chicago River."

MARQUETTE TITLES

(a) *The narrative of the Mississippi expedition of 1673.* This is the only journal or detailed account of the famous expedition that has survived, the journal kept by Jolliet being no longer extant. Our main and practically only source of information on the subject has been the Marquette narrative and such no doubt will continue to be the case. That this is so has tended to obscure somewhat the part played in the expedition by Jolliet, as it has also tended to set Marquette's part in particular relief. But the document itself does not fail in the least to do justice to Jolliet as the leader of the expedition. The Marquette narrative is on all counts a most significant document and has long since taken high rank among the classics of early American travel.

According to Dr. Louise P. Kellogg (*Dictionary of American Biography,* x (1929), art. "Marquette"), that missionary's best monument is "the accounts he left of his Mississippi trip and of his last voyage on his way to his death in the wilderness."*

(b) *Marquette and his two voyageur attendants were the first known-by-name residents on Chicago soil.* He passed through the locality, his first visit, in September, 1673, but returned to it the following year. For four months he camped on the banks of the Chicago River at a spot now marked by the imposing Marquette Memorial erected by the municipality of Chicago at the north end of the South Damen Avenue bridge. Further, by an ordinance of the Chicago City Council, December 4 has been designated for annual commemoration as "Marquette Day," that being the date in 1674 on which he began his four months of residence on the city-site. While thus residing within the limits of the future metropolis, he penned the greater part of a journal, which is the earliest known document to originate in Chicagoland. Few documents could be more precious and one envies Montreal the possession of it. "Thus it came about," has written Dr. Quaife, "that our first account of life at Chicago pictures the doings of a lonely priest passing the dreary winter in a rude hut, animated by a fiery zeal for the salvation of the savages he was seeking the while his physical frame was shaken with the pangs of a mortal disease. If plain living and high thinking be the ideal life, no locality ever launched its recorded career more auspiciously than did Chicago in the winter of 1674-1675."

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* For the evidence in support of the authenticity of the Mississippi narrative as Marquette's own, see G. J. Garraghan, S. J., Ph. D., *Thought* (New York), IV (June, 1929), 32-71; for a divergent view, see F. B. Steck, O. F. M., Ph. D., *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673* (Washington, D. C., 1928). It may be well to note here that Father Marquette's place in history is not conditioned by any theory one may hold as to the authorship of the narrative in question.

(c) *Marquette was Chicago's first clergyman.* He was the first to say Mass there, which he did daily during the period December, 1674-March, 1675. Further, he there repeatedly administered the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist to his lay attendants. There, too, he "made a retreat," the earliest instance of this widespread Catholic practice on record in the history of the West. In fine, the story of the Catholic church in Chicago begins with his name.

(d) *Marquette inaugurated the missionary movement in the upper Mississippi Valley.* His Mission of the Immaculate Conception, opened by him in April, 1673, among the Kaskaskia Indians on the Illinois River, was the first of a remarkable series of missionary posts established by Catholic priests in the Mississippi Valley on behalf of the aborigines. In Marquette, ever since he lived, has been symbolized the missionary idea, the Church's divinely inspired effort to carry the light of the Gospel to those sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. "Pere Marquette was one of those dauntless pioneers whose faith sustained them in the face of all obstacles. His explorations added to the sum of human knowledge. Whether sailing unchartered seas or blazing a way through unbroken wilderness to carry the Gospel to the Indians, all was done under the inspiration of the motto of the Society of Jesus: 'Ad majorem Dei gloriam' " (Franklin Delano Roosevelt). That the missionary spirit finds a recognized symbol in Father Marquette is known to everybody. When a Franciscan scholar wrote (1934) a biography of a worthy missionary-explorer of his order, he gave his book the title, "The Franciscan Père Marquette."

(e) *Marquette's engaging personality.* Something in the man over and above his merits as a missionary and explorer makes appeal to the public. "Over him through centuries," says Dr. Quaife, "hovers that indefinable quality which we call 'charm'; without it, one may win fame indeed, but not the love of mankind." It is a fact that people of all classes and creeds are drawn by some keenly felt attraction to the figure of Marquette; something about him has power to inspire peculiar reverence and affection. At Ludington, Michigan, is annually staged a spectacular pageant, written and recited by the Right Reverend Robert Wilson Spencer, a bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church. The pageant is conceived by its promoters, so an official advertisement declares, as a tribute "to the memory of a great missionary, a brave explorer and a man." This last word, so James O'Donnell Bennett has commented, strikes the right note. As a man, Marquette is in truth a figure of unusual appeal. Such is our reaction to him and such also was the reaction to him of those who had the privilege of knowing him in life. The impression we get of him from contemporary records is that of a man of engaging human characteristics, who loved much and was loved much in return.

(f) *Marquette's reputation for holiness of life.* Those who lived and dealt with him are one in testifying to his more than ordinary virtues. The voyageurs who cared for him in his last illness felt that they had to do with a person the most striking characteristic of whom was holiness of life. Within two years of his death a fellow-worker in the missionary-field was seeking to become an "imitator," as he wrote, "of the virtues of that great man." The alleged miraculous favors obtained through his intercession, the popularity of his grave at St. Ignace as a place of prayer and pilgrimage for the devout, the one-time custom among sailors on the Great Lakes of invoking his aid, attest abundantly the reputation for holiness which he left behind. The *New York Times* in an editorial of June 1, 1937, expressed the earnest hope that the Catholic Church may some day canonize Father Marquette.

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Marquette's fame as a phenomenon of the contemporary American scene is an impressive thing. A catalogue of memorials in his honor compiled in 1930 reveals a long and imposing series of commemorative tokens of every sort. The series ranges in variety from stained-glass windows in Memorial Hall, Harvard University, to Wisconsin's official statue of the missionary in the Capitol at Washington, and from a United States postage-stamp in his honor (1898) to pageants depicting his significant career. The City Hall, Detroit, has its Marquette statue, the state capitol, Springfield, Illinois, its Marquette mural. Rivers, towns, counties, schools, skyscrapers, business concerns, even a railroad, bear his name. Millions of Americans cherish his memory and hold his name in reverence. The case for his reputation has been succinctly put by Dr. Kellogg: "Of all the Jesuit missionaries in the West, Marquette is the most renowned, partly because of his early death, partly because of his sweet and saintly nature, partly because he and Jolliet were the first to follow the course of the Mississippi River, a journey made known to the world by the letters and maps of the explorers."

The Holy Father, Pius XI, President Roosevelt, Congress, governors of states, mayors of cities, and the National Catholic Welfare Council have recently commended Father Marquette as worthy of the highest honors that the American public can pay him. Obviously, that they have done so is an imposing recognition of the legitimacy of the place in the hall of fame which the verdict of public opinion has long since awarded to him.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

William Howlett, Pioneer Missionary and Historian

I. The Colorado Missions

On January 17, 1936, death removed a venerable figure from the ranks of the American priesthood. The passing of Father William J. Howlett, chaplain of the Loretto Mother House, Nerinx, Kentucky, rent the last of the living ties binding the priesthood of the American West to the old Saint Thomas Seminary, near Bardstown, Kentucky.[1] The last surviving priest-alumnus of this, the first ecclesiastical seminary established west of the Appalachian Mountains, it was Father Howlett's privilege in youth to sit at the feet of teachers who had imbibed the principles of ecclesiastical science and ascetical practice from no less learned and apostolic men than Flaget, first bishop of the frontier Kentucky diocese, and David, master of the spiritual life and pioneer promoter of ecclesiastical education in the western country.[2] In the vigor of manhood he took up the burdens of the ministry in the Rocky Mountain country under the direction of Bishop Machebeuf, whose contributions to religion on the frontier he was himself later to bring to the notice of the reading public.[3] If an apology be needed for treating, in a review of this nature, of the life and activities of one so recently deceased, it may be found in this unique combination of circumstances of time and place which enabled Father Howlett to tie up in his lifetime the strands of tradition linking the Church of the early nineteenth-century frontier of the trans-Allegheny country with the establishment and development of Catholic life in the Rocky Mountain mining frontier of the mid-century.

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[1] St. Thomas Seminary was established by Bishop Flaget in 1811. On December 5 of the same year it was installed in a building on the Howard farm, at Poplar Neck, near Bardstown. A concise account of its beginnings will be found in a letter of its director, Father, afterwards Bishop, David, to the Sulpician Superior in Paris, Father Duclaux, June 27, 1814, quoted in part by Lloyd P. McDonald, S. S., *The Seminary Movement in the United States; Projects, Foundations and Early Development (1784-1833)*, Washington, 1927, 39-40. The most complete treatment of its history is Father Howlett's *Historical Tribute to St. Thomas' Seminary at Poplar Neck near Bardstown, Kentucky*, St. Louis, 1906.

Among the manuscripts left by Father Howlett two were found that have proved invaluable in the preparation of this study, namely, "Recollections of my life, and Reflections on times and events during it," and "History of the Diocese of Denver." The first is now deposited in the Archives of the Loretto Mother House, Nerinx, Kentucky, and the second in the Archives of the Diocese of Denver. In the present article the first will be cited as *Recollections*, and the second as *History*.

[2] The most extensive history of the Church in Kentucky is B. J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, Louisville, 1884, a work which, despite its shortcomings, remains an invaluable source of early Kentucky Catholic history. The story of pioneer beginnings has recently been set forth in scholarly detail in Sister Mary Ramona Mattingly, *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier (1785-1812)*, Washington, 1936. The manifold activities of Bishop David are related in Sister Columba Fox, *The Life of Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David, 1761-1841*, New York, 1925.

Born in Monroe County, New York, March 6, 1847, William Howlett lived as a child by the banks of the Erie Canal, then an important highway, as it had already been for nearly a quarter of a century, to the abundant and cheap lands of the West. Among his boyhood memories was one of watching the funeral train of Henry Clay going past his home along the recently completed railroad now known as the New York Central. At the age of six he moved with his parents to Michigan, traveling from Monroe County to Buffalo by canal boat, from Buffalo to Detroit by lake steamer, and thence by rail to Cass County, in southern Michigan.

This portion of Michigan had not yet passed fully out of the pioneer stage, and served William Howlett well as an introduction to life on the Colorado frontier. The nearby town of Bertrand had only recently ceased to be the site of the Indian mission founded in 1830 by the celebrated Kentucky missionary, Father Stephen Theodore Badin. A few Catholic Potowatomie still lingered in the vicinity of Silver Creek. A few miles distant the University of Notre Dame had been established about a decade before by the Congregation of the Holy Cross.[4] It was a member of this Congregation, Father Cointet, who was the first priest to visit the Howletts in their new home during the winter of 1853. It was while living in Michigan that William made the acquaintance of such zealous pioneer priests of the Old Northwest as

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[3] William J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D.,* Pueblo, Colorado, 1908.

[4] A scholarly account of the work of Father Badin and of Catholic beginnings in this region is contained in William McNamara, C. S. C., *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier (1791-1844),* Washington, 1931. See also M. J. Walsh, C. S. C., "Beginnings of Notre Dame," *Historical Records and Studies,* XI (December, 1917), 15-30; *Ibid.,* "Notre Dame, Antecedents and Development," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* IV (January, 1922), 270-277; and Thomas McAvoy, C. S. C., "Father Badin Comes to Notre Dame," *Indiana Magazine of History,* May, 1933. An excellent study of Father Badin is that by Father Howlett, "The Very Reverend Stephen Theodore Badin," *Historical Records and Studies,* IX (June, 1916), 101-146.

Father Cointet, C. S. C., and Father John De Neve.[5] It was during these years too, in all probability, that there began his interest in Notre Dame and his admiration for the Fathers of the Holy Cross.

Little more than a decade, however, spanned the residence of the Howletts in Michigan. Gold had in the meanwhile been discovered at the base of the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. One of the older boys of the family had gone to Colorado in 1860, and two others had followed two years later. When one of these sons returned to Michigan for a visit, the father decided to move on to Colorado and effect the reunion of his family. Three married sons and their families decided to migrate together with their parents. Disposing of their surplus household goods, they began the long trek westward. Towards the close of his life Father Howlett penned a brief account of this journey.

> We had six wagons all covered with canvas in the style of the old emigrant wagons, and in them all necessary articles for traveling. The wagons served also as sleeping quarters for the women while the men and boys slept under them with blankets, quilts and buffalo robes, or sometimes in barns and sheds when available, but not a house did we sleep in for eight weeks. A couple of sheet-iron stoves were used for baking such bread as could be made by travelers, and the rest of the cooking was done by campfire.
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> Our route lay through Northern Indiana, where a belated coldsnap caught us near Valparaiso. Through Illinois we passed through Joliet, La Salle, Ottawa, Galesburg and on to the Mississippi river at Burlington. Through Illinois the roads were hub deep with mud owing to the spring rains and the thawing of the ground after the winter's frost. The rivers were high, and at Burlington we had to go five miles below the town to find a landing where the ferryboat could find a place to reach us to take us across the river. In Iowa both the weather and the roads were better, and after crossing the Iowa river at Farmington we found ourselves entering upon wide stretches of virgin prairie crossed by streams fringed with bands of timber of little density or extension on either side. Prairie chickens were abundant but no large game. We crossed the counties bordering on Missouri, and the principal towns we met with were the legal capitals of each county. There was much of a sameness about the scenery and the land seemed to be fertile and offered a fine opportunity for settlers. Yet we met with very few inhabitants and few travelers. . . . We might have stopped and settled on sections of that fine soil, but the land now was no temptation to my father; his destination was farther on . . . his thoughts were with his children. . . .
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> We reached the Missouri river about the middle of May and crossed

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[5] Father De Neve subsequently served as rector (1860-1891) of the American College, Louvain. See J. Van der Heyden, *The Louvain American College, 1857-1907,* Louvain, 1909.

> over it on a ferry to Nebraska City in Nebraska. This and Omaha, Leavenworth, St. Joseph and Kansas City were the principal points where emigrants fitted themselves out for this long journey to western points, even to the Pacific. We found horses, mules and oxen there in hundreds, and tents and wagons were in every vacant lot and far out into the country. A few Indians of the Pawnee tribe were among the crowds, but that tribe was practically civilized and had its reservation not far away.[6]

The Howlett party remained at Nebraska City about a week in order to rest the horses and to purchase what was necessary for the remainder of the trip.

> When we left Nebraska City our next objective point was Fort Kearney, about 200 miles further west on the Platte river. The country was wild and uninhabited almost all the way; the only settlement of consequence consisted of just a few houses which they said was Lincoln, the Capital of the Territory. We passed many teams of oxen and mules in groups, some bound for Pike's Peak like ourselves, others for California and Oregon. There were quite a few streams of water and we had no difficulty in finding good places for camping at night where wood, water and grass were plentiful. A couple of years previously the Indians had made raids on travelers along these roads, and graves were visible of the victims along the Little and Big Blue rivers, and at several other places. No Indians were supposed to be in those parts then, so everyone took his own time and traveled as he pleased. . . .[7]

Fort Kearney was at this time the western outpost of safe travel, beyond which no emigrant party was allowed to proceed unless it numbered at least forty men of fighting age.[8] The Howlett party remained here a few days, awaiting the arrival of other parties to make up this required minimum. While waiting, they saw something of life on the plains in the 'sixties.

> The big stagecoaches came in from both directions almost daily, but to and from this point the western coaches were accompanied by a detachment of cavalry for the protection of the mails, and incidentally of the passengers. The Indians were shy of the soldiers and I did not hear of any attacks being made on the coaches under guard. I do not think there were any permanent settlers at Fort Kearney, but there were traders who were selling spirits and limited supplies that might be needed by those passing. I saw there the first exhibition of public gambling then so common in the West.[9]

After a few days a California-bound party came along, and the Howletts pushed on with it. Their route now lay up the Platte by the south bank. Near the site of the present Julesburg, Colorado, they separated from the California party, and took the bank to the South Platte. At Fort Morgan they left the South Platte to follow what was known as the "Cutoff" to Denver. Sometime about June 12 they camped for the last time on the journey, at what is now known as Capital Hill, Denver.[10]

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[6] *Recollections,* 24-25.

[7] *Ibid.,* 25-26.

[8] Fort Kearney, 310 miles from Fort Leavenworth, was the first fort built in pursuance of the Act of Congress of 1846, allowing the War Department to establish military posts along the route to Oregon.

[9] *Recollections,* 26.

By the time of the arrival of the Howletts in Colorado in the summer of 1865, the two settlements of Aurora and Denver, facing each other across Cherry Creek, had been consolidated under the name of the latter town. Denver was already on its way to becoming the metropolis of the Rocky Mountain country. Virtually all classes were represented in its population, and the institutions of urban life were already well established.

The church building in Denver in 1865 was

> a brick structure 30 x 46 in size, and the Very Rev. Joseph P. Machebeuf and the Rev. John B. Raverdy lived in a few rooms of wooden construction behind it. They attended Denver and many of the mining camps in the mountains, besides seeking out and saying mass for a number of settlers who were attempting to farm along the creeks in the valleys or raise live stock for the markets. The first Sunday I attended mass Father Machebeuf was the celebrant, and while he was preaching I was thinking that he was the oldest man I had ever seen. Yet he was only fifty-three, but he was so weather-beaten from exposure in missionary work that he looked as if he might be eighty. I lost that impression when I came to know him better. His youthful spirit changed all that and in appearance he did not seem to me to be a day older when he died twenty-four years later.[11]

The Howletts had arrived in Denver in June, and the father, whose object in moving to Colorado had been to be near the rest of his family, died the following September. The family then went to live on a farm owned by Father Machebeuf and located some eight miles west of Denver. Father Machebeuf had a private chapel in the farmhouse and would sometimes spend a day or two there. It was there, apparently, that William first spoke to the priest about going to a seminary. In the latter part of 1866 Father Machebeuf asked him to take charge of the boys' school which he had opened in Denver. While teaching, William began the study of Latin with Father John Faure, who was stationed at the Denver church.

Meanwhile William had definitely decided that he wanted to be a priest. Father Francis Chambige, a friend of Father Machebeuf from his home province in France, was then president of

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[10] *Ibid.,* 26-29.
[11] *Ibid.,* 30.

Saint Thomas Seminary, and it was there that Father Machebeuf decided to send him. On December 12, 1867, he left Denver for Hays City, Kansas, the western terminus of the Kansas and Pacific Railroad, which was then in course of construction. On January 8, 1868, he arrived at St. Thomas Seminary, Kentucky.[12]

This was William Howlett's introduction to the Kentucky which he came to know and love so well, and to the pioneer western seminary, the history and traditions of which he was later to snatch from a fast encircling oblivion.

> St. Thomas was not impressive in its looks, but it did impressive work. . . . Humble it was, but when we think of the early missionaries it prepared for the work of planting the faith as it was so deeply planted in Kentucky, we think of universities, of scholars and saints. Flaget, David, Badin, Nerinckx and the pioneers brought their faith with them, but the new generation had to be taught if the old faith were to be preserved, and St. Thomas became the spring from which the life-giving and life preserving waters flowed which made the Tree of the Cross grow in the forests of Kentucky and spread its branches through East and West. Need I name Abell, Durbin, Aud, Elliott, Coomes, Elder, Byrne and other devoted missionaries who went out from St. Thomas in its early years to spend their lives on horseback seeking out and bringing faith and grace to many who otherwise never would have known either? And the hundreds of later years, some of whom became leaders in Israel, such as Bishop Reynolds of Charleston, Richter of Grand Rapids, Byrne of Nashville, Alerding of Fort Wayne, Lenihan of Cheyenne, Tierney of Hartford, Ryan of Alton, and Lavaille and O'Donaghue of Louisville? Of the priests they were scattered from Massachusetts to the western borders of our civilization, and the rank and file of the clergy of Kentucky ever came from its doors.[13]

A year and a half was spent at this historic institution when in October, 1869, the possessions of the students and the movable property of the seminary were loaded into wagons, and, with the students traveling afoot, the seminary was transferred to the buildings formerly occupied by Saint Joseph's College, adjoining the old Cathedral, at Bardstown.[14] This was the final exodus of ecclesiastical education from Saint Thomas; a chapter in the history of Catholic education in the West was closed on that day. At the present time only the foundation walls of the seminary building remain. Happily the old log residence of Bishop Flaget and the old chapel, one-time "cathedral" of the same prelate, have been preserved. The chapel now serves as St. Thomas parish church. In contrasting St. Thomas' with St. Joseph's College, Father Howlett writes:

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[12] *Ibid.,* 35.

[13] *Ibid.,* 38.

[14] Founded in 1819 under the direction of Bishop Flaget, St. Joseph's College was conducted by the diocesan clergy until 1848. Transferred in that year to the administration of the Jesuits, the institution flourished until 1861, when circumstances developing out of the Civil War forced the suspension of classes. Unable subsequently to come to an agreement with the bishop on matters deemed vital to the continuance of the college, the Jesuits withdrew in 1868, and the administration of the institution reverted to the diocese. It was at this juncture that the seminary was transferred from St. Thomas to St. Joseph's. See W. J. Howlett, "The Early Days of St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, Kentucky," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* IV (April, 1922), 372-380.

> There were some little hardships at St. Thomas; we had to cut our firewood to keep the place warm, we went to the well for water to wash our faces from a pan on a log, stump or any convenient place winter and summer, but we kept warm and reasonably clean. We had cornbread and bacon as the great reliables, but we had white bread at least once a day, and on feast days we feasted. The faculty fared about as we did, and we felt that we were at home as brothers under a good father.

After completing his preparatory studies at Bardstown, Mr. Howlett was sent to France, where he studied philosophy and theology at the Sulpician seminaries at Issy-sur-Seine and at Paris. On June 10, 1876, he was ordained to the priesthood by Cardinal Guilbert. A further year of study was then pursued at the University of Würzburg, Germany, where Father Howlett attended the classes of the renowned Doctors Hettinger and Hergenroether, the latter of whom later became librarian of the Vatican, a leader in the new school of Catholic historical studies, and cardinal.

On April 14, 1877, Father Howlett arrived back in Denver to take up the active work of the ministry. For the next thirty-six years the mountains and plains of Colorado were the scenes of his labors.

If the pages that follow seem perhaps too highly factual, it must be recalled that it is here the intention to offer a view of the condition of the Church and her ministry in Colorado sixty years ago. This purpose can hardly be accomplished more effectively or more surely than by setting forth the life of a missionary priest in these regions during those decades.

The ministry of the Church in Colorado, following the lines of the civil development of the Territory and State, naturally falls into three distinct areas of activity—the city of Denver, the mining regions of the mountains, and the agricultural areas of the plains. Father Howlett labored in all three, but since the conditions of the urban ministry are much the same everywhere,

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[15] *Recollections,* 39.

whereas the other two regions present a number of new environmental factors, it has been felt best to devote the larger portion of the article to these areas. In this manner there will be gained a clearer idea of the work of the Church in the mining and agricultural frontiers of the American West of the nineteenth century.

Father Howlett's first missionary assignment was to visit the Catholics along the railroad east of Denver, and the Catholic families on the ranches near the stations.

> The section foremen were generally good and reliable men, and most of them were Catholics and practiced their religion, so I always had a stopping place where I would be welcome. Bishop Machebeuf laid out my itinerary; it was to visit certain stations, and say mass and administer the sacraments to all desiring them and give them an encouraging and helpful sermon. . . . The Bishop told me that [the preaching] was easy; all I had to do was to tell them to be good and say their prayers and teach the children, and little practical things like these, and, as I was not twice in the same place, the same sermon would [do] for [the] whole trip. Such, he said, was his practice when he started out on the missions in Ohio many years before, and it worked out all right.[16]

Unfortunately Father Howlett does not mention many of the stations visited on this trip. He does, however, say that he visited Hugo and "a station beyond Hugo where the Clifford's lived." The present-day station of Clifford on the line of the Union Pacific between Kansas City and Denver is some 113 miles east of Denver. On subsequent trips he went as far as Kit Carson near the Kansas boundary.

After his return from this trip Father Howlett was assigned temporarily to the parish of Georgetown. This was his first experience of missionary life in the mining regions of the state, and, while the assignment was but temporary, it served to acquaint him with the technique and demands of the ministry in these regions.

> The mining camps along the South Clear Creek were in Father Machebeuf's early mission trips. Grass Valley, Illinois Bar, Idaho Springs, Spanish Bar, Trail Run, Fall River, Mill Creek, Downieville, Lawson's Empire, Alvarado and Georgetown were some of the stations. Most of them have long since disappeared from [the] geography of the locality, but Georgetown remains, though fallen greatly from its former prosperity. When a pastor was sent to Central City this district was also visited by him.
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> The discovery of rich silver mines, and the introduction of profitable methods for the extraction and refining of the precious metal, in the '60's,

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[16] *Ibid.*, 59.

> made Georgetown a place of importance. Another town, Silver Plume, two and a half miles further up the creek, became of almost equal importance in the early '70's by reason of its richer mines, but Georgetown was the County Seat, and had the advantage of a more favorable site for residences, business houses, and mills for the reduction of the ores. It became, then, the business center and the center of population.[17]
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> The Rev. John B. Raverdy, pastor of Central City, visited Georgetown from 1866 until 1871, [and] said mass mostly in Brownell's hall. He secured ground for a church, but in those wild times when mine jumping and lot jumping was the order of the day, or rather of the night, he would have lost it, if good Irishmen of the congregation had not acted as armed guards until title could be secured beyond all dispute.[18]

Following this temporary sojourn in the mining country, Father Howlett returned again to the farming communities, visiting Longmont, Loveland, and Fort Collins, none of which had yet been organized into regular parishes.[19]

And then we find him making another visit to the mountains, this time undertaken to serve not the mining population but the railroad construction workers. His account of this journey furnishes us with a glimpse of another aspect of Catholic life in Colorado in the late 'seventies.

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[17] "In the early days Central City was the heart of the mining district. Other places were little more than prospects, but Central City had the mines, and gold was being taken from them in large quantities. Denver was headquarters for the entire region, but Denver had no mines. It was the great center for supplies, and all the mines looked to it for support, as it looked to the mines for profit. Locating definitely in Denver as the logical place of residence, Father Machebeuf made Central City his first mission. He visited it several times before the close of 1860, each time saying Mass at a different place. The first Mass was said in a theatre, the second in a vacant billiard room, the third in a dance hall. The fourth in vacant store, etc. . . .

"Father Machebeuf's first congregation numbered 200, most of whom were men. Few families had come at this early date, and few women of respectability ventured among that conglomerate mass of male humanity" (*History,* 13).

A concise account of the development of the mining industry in Colorado will be found in Le Roy R. Hafen, *Colorado, The Story of a Western Commonwealth,* Denver, 1933. More specific details of individual camps and towns are contained in Baker and Hafen (eds.), *History of Colorado* (1927), and in numerous articles scattered throughout the files of the *Colorado Magazine.*

[18] *History,* 15.

[19] Longmont was founded in 1871 by the Chicago-Colorado Colony. Although there were no Catholics among the original colonists, members of the Church began to come in as the railroad was built northward (*History,* 35). See also James F. Willard and Colin B. Goodykoontz (eds.), *Experiments in Colorado Colonization, 1869-1872* (University of Colorado *Historical Collections,* Colony Series, Volume II), Boulder, Colorado, 1926, 135-330.

"The City of Fort Collins occupies the site of a fort and military reservation which was thrown open to settlers in 1872. An organized colony of settlers then came in and built up homes and a prosperous town. Prior to this time there were a number of French-Canadians along the banks of the Cache-a-la-Poudre river, and they were visited during the early years by Father Machebeuf. . . . Without doubt he was here in 1861 and also Father Raverdy . . ." (*History,* 35-36).

> The Bishop . . . started on one of his long visitations and only Father Raverdy and myself were left in Denver. Yet, I had to make a visit to some of the camps along the railroad that was then being built in the mountains up the Platte river. . . . I took a horse and buggy for the trip, and one day in the vicinity of Dome Rock I was caught in a mountain snow storm. The road soon dwindled to a mere trail, and that was difficult to follow in the storm. To add to my trouble a connecting rod in my buggy broke while I was descending a steep and sliding mountain side. I managed to tie it up with a loose strap from the harness, and finally reached a camp almost frozen. The foreman of the ranch saw me coming, and, helping me out of the buggy, he told me to go in to the fire and he would take care of my horse. While I was getting warm and talking to the cook, who was an Irishman, the foreman (a non-Catholic Englishman named Madge) asked his men, who were mostly Irish, what was the custom when the priest came to visit the camp. They told him of mass in the morning, to which he kindly agreed and said they might take an hour from work for that purpose. I told him they need lose no time for the mass would be before working hours. . . . At another camp I was told that morning services were not possible but I might preach on temperance some night. . . .[20]

When the Jesuit Fathers of the Neapolitan Province came to Colorado from New Mexico in 1879, they relieved the labors of the secular clergy at the Cathedral, but the latter were still left with the outside missions. "Father Howlett attended those to the east as far as Kit Carson near the Kansas boundary."[21]

In 1879 the mountain parish of Central City became vacant by the death of the famous bibliophile, Father J. M. Finotti. The parish was on the verge of bankruptcy, and not being able to find an experienced pastor, Bishop Machebeuf assigned it to Father Howlett. He remained pastor there until 1886, meanwhile bringing order out of the financial chaos, healing local divisions among factions, and attending the small mining camps in the surrounding region, which usually flourished for a short time and then closed down.

> In those days the whole of Northwestern Colorado was almost a wilderness. The Ute Indians had been removed to Utah after the Meeker Massacre, but they would return at times in the hunting season and then there would be trouble. In the summer of 1879 they killed some of the adventurous settlers near Meeker, and were supposed to have set fire to the timber. One Sunday the smoke was so thick at Central City that it was supposed that the Indians were burning the timber near the town. I was teaching

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[20] *Recollections,* 61-62.

[21] *Ibid.,* 62. (An account of the coming of the Jesuits is given in the article following this.)

> Sunday school and had to light the lamps at three o'clock to continue the class. . . . It was a false alarm, however, for the Indians were nearly a hundred miles away. Once afterwards they invaded that section to hunt and fight, but a force was sent against them by the State, and after a single skirmish they retreated to their reservation in Utah and were kept there by the U. S. forces.[22]

With the years came changes in the industrial and social life of Colorado, and of these changes Father Howlett became a part.

> As the years passed the inhabitants of Central City and the other mountain towns would move away and locate in the towns and country in the level districts. I myself felt that mountain scenery was good for a time, but the attraction began to wear off and I longed for a place where the view widened out and one could move about without a feeling of being hemmed in even by those beautiful barriers. . . . I did not let the thought worry me much but I felt its force, and when, in 1886, Bishop Machebeuf called me to Denver I left Central City without many regrets.[23]

After a few months at the Denver Cathedral Father Howlett again took to the mission field, this time in the new and coming agricultural areas of the plains. Here again we witness the reenactment of the age-old adjustment of the Church's teaching mission to the demands of specific environments. Father Howlett's new field of labor was in northern Colorado.

> Lines drawn from Denver to the boundaries of the state both north and east would cut off a section nearly one hundred miles in width and one hundred and fifty in length. This section had no priest in its entire extent. Father Thomas M. Conway of North Platte, Nebraska, had made one or two visits to a part of it but no priest in Colorado had charge of it. In leaving Denver I assumed the care of this field. It is not that most of it was an unbroken prairie over which herds of cattle ranged, but there were two railroads crossing it and homesteaders were then coming in to take up government land. Several little towns were starting also, among which were Brighton, Platteville, Fort Morgan, Sterling, Julesburg, Akron and Yuma. Section houses at the intermediate stations were about fifteen miles apart, and many of these were in charge of Catholic men. My first work was to explore this region and find out who and where the Catholics were. After locating them I made the little towns my stations for Sundays, and visited intervening section houses during the week. My first headquarters were at Brighton, about twenty miles from Denver, and there I built my first mission church. Mr. Daniel Carmichael donated the ground, and in 1887 I built a neat brick church which served the congregation well until a new one was built about 1930. Sterling was then growing and a new railroad to it when the Burlington was building from Holdrege in Nebraska to Cheyenne in Wyoming. From the graders on this road I collected enough

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[22] *Ibid.,* 63.
[23] *Ibid.,* 66.

> money to buy a block of ground in Sterling, and in 1888 I built a frame church, which was dedicated by Bishop Matz, June 24, 1888,—the feast of its patron, St. John the Baptist. This church had the misfortune of being hit three times by hurricanes and demolished the third time.[24]

The northeastern portion of Colorado was the region where some of Father Howlett's most extensive work was done. It was in this area that he acquired the name of a church builder. It was to prove the more permanent area of the state too. With the passing of years many of the mines ceased to produce in quantities deemed sufficient for the investments. The mines, in consequence, were closed, the population began to move away, and the towns sank to a state of somnambulance if they did not become altogether "ghost towns." But the agricultural areas, on the contrary, tended to increase in population and prosperity.

This northeastern corner of Colorado was still very largely cattle country when Father Howlett took up his work there. But in time the range was curtailed and more general agriculture took its place. Father Howlett's reminiscenses contain a number of pithy paragraphs tracing the ecclesiastical and civil development of the locality.

> Prior to 1887 there were but few Catholics in what is now Logan and Washington counties. Both these counties were then a part of Weld county (both the counties have since been subdivided several times), and had no settlers except along the lines of the Union Pacific and the Burlington railroads. Sterling was a division station on the U. P. road, and as such had prospects of becoming a town of some importance. It was founded by people from Mississippi and Tennessee who belonged to the Southern Methodist or Cumberland Presbyterian denominations, and these naturally inherited a great deal of religious prejudice. However, none of them opposed me in [my] efforts to establish a Catholic church there, and some of them even added their mite to my subscription list. I first said mass in the railroad section house occupied by Mr. Michael Nelligan, then in a small hall owned by a citizen and rented for any public purpose, and finally in my new church. The congregation was composed mostly of railroad men, and the remainder, about a dozen in all, were business men and homesteaders.
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> Julesburg was at the N. E. corner of the state at the junction of the main line of the U. P. railroad and the branch line leading to Denver. It was a new frontier town and was all agog over the rush of settlers seeking government land. Like all frontier towns it was praised up as the future great city, from which railroads were to radiate to all parts. It was said to have every natural advantage and blessing except rain, and that would follow as it always did when the country was settled and the ground plowed. There were several good business blocks there and I bought a site for a church, but in the meantime said mass at the section house. Counting

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[24] *Ibid.,* 67.

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the homesteaders with the railroad people there was a nice little congregation, but later this and most of the frontier towns dwindled away for a time when the homesteaders found that the rain did not come and they had to abandon their claims and seek a living elsewhere.[25]

Respecting his ministry in this farming section, Father Howlett tells us that

> Brighton, Platteville, Sterling and Julesburg were small towns on the Union Pacific railroad where I could say Mass on Sundays and have a goodly number at mass, and there were six intervening stations where I went on weekdays. On the Burlington road Fort Morgan, Akron and Yuma were the principal stations, and four smaller places where I said Mass. When the Burlington road was completed as far as Sterling on the Cheyenne line, a thrifty town was founded near the boundary of Nebraska, called Holyoke, and I attended that as well as three stations in Nebraska, and three more on the new line.[26]

Looking back over these years on the Colorado mission, he writes:

> I cannot leave the subject of my prairie missions without paying due tribute to the generous-hearted and faithful Catholics of those pioneer days in Eastern Colorado. There were no rich among them as far as worldly goods go but they were rich in faith and good will. Some came long distances to mass and thirty-five miles were not too long when they had a child to be baptized. When I visited them in their homes nothing they had was too good for me. If they were at meals they invited me to sit down with them, but generally they would begin by taking their ordinary food from the table to substitute something better. To this I always objected, telling them that what was good enough for them at all times was good enough for me at one meal, and I was not fit to be a missionary if I could not live on the food of the country. They may have lived in a sod house or a dugout, but the best corner was given to the priest. In fact I found that it was possible to kill one with kindness.[27]

Father Howlett's connection with these missions of northeastern Colorado was broken in 1889, when he was transferred to St. Ignatius' Church, Pueblo, where he arrived on February 1 of that year. A year later he was moved to St. Leo's Church, Denver, where he remained until the church was completed and the school in operation. He was then called to the rectorship of the Cathedral where the finances were in a difficult condition. He was next transferred to the parish of Georgetown, once prosperous but at his coming in decline owing to the fall in the price of silver. There was debt on the church at Georgetown and on

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[25] *Ibid.*, 67.
[26] *Ibid.*, 68.
[27] *Ibid.*, 70.

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its mission church at Silver Plume. For two years Father Howlett labored to bring the finances of the parish into good condition, and in 1897 he was transferred to Colorado City, now a part of Colorado Springs. Here, too, he was faced with the problem of paying off a small debt and virtually building up a parish. And again in 1903 he was sent back to St. Ignatius' Church, Pueblo, to pay off debt once more and to make improvements in the parish.

Weary, at last, of the task of debt-paying Father Howlett now requested Bishop Matz for a small parish where he might devote more time to his literary work. In response Bishop Matz assigned him to the parish of Loveland, of which he took charge in the autumn of 1909.

It was while serving as pastor of Loveland that Father Howlett received the invitation of Mother General Praxedes Carty of the Sisters of Loretto to assume the chaplaincy of the Loretto Mother House at Nerinx, Kentucky, left vacant by the death of his seminary friend, Father E. Drury. This request was seconded by many of the priests of the Louisville Diocese, and by its bishop, the Rt. Rev. Denis O'Donaghue. Bishop Matz acquiesced, and in October, 1913, Father Howlett took up residence at Loretto, which was to end only with his death.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR

(Part II will appear in April)

DOCUMENTS

Account of the First Jesuit Missionary Journey Across the Plains to Santa Fe

The Jesuits in New Mexico date the history of their labors from the fifteenth of August, 1867, two decades after the Spanish frontier in New Mexico had become a part of the United States. Bishop Lamy of Santa Fé, in need of missionaries for his diocese, had gone to Rome to ask for help from the Jesuits. The provincial at Naples was looking for a foreign mission to place part of the dispersed Neapolitan Province, a victim of the revolution in Italy, so by the direction of the Father General of the Society, Father P. J. Beckx, New Mexico and Colorado were added to its field of activities.

The New Mexico-Colorado mission of the Neapolitan Province of the Society of Jesus, begun by the little band of five Jesuits who arrived at Santa Fé in 1867, flourished.[1] A half century later, in 1919, when the mission was divided and transferred to the Missouri and New Orleans provinces, there were one hundred and twenty-two Jesuits in the field, and the scene of their activities embraced the vast area from Montana to Old Mexico, and from Arizona to Oklahoma.[2] The work inaugurated by the first Jesuit band of 1867, of which Donato M. Gasparri, author of the accompanying narrative, was a member, constitutes one of the notable chapters in the history of the Catholic Church on the American frontier.

The only original narratives of this important and remarkable missionary journey hitherto published in English are the very brief and incomplete accounts of Sister M. Kotska Gauthreaux, S. L., and John Geatley, edited by Thomas F. O'Connor and published in MID-AMERICA, XIX (January, 1937), pp. 62-67, and the short excerpts from Father Brun and Father Gasparri to be found in Defouri and Sister Lilliana Owens.[3]

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[1] For the history of the New Mexico-Colorado mission of the Neapolitan Province see: J. H. Defouri, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico,* San Francisco, 1887, 106-130; Benjamin M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico,* Santa Fé, 1912, 522-530, based entirely on A. M. Mandalari, S. J., "Missione del Nuovo Messico e Colorado," *Lettere Edificanti della Provincia Napoletana della Compagnia di Gesu, 1911,* Naples, 1911, 217-226. Most valuable however, are Vito M. Tromby, S. J., *Historia Missionis Novi Mexico et Colorati et Elogia Nostrorum qui in ea Missione defuncti sunt,* Ms., n. d., 136 pp., and F. M. Troy, S. J., *Historia Societatis Jesu in Novo Mexico et Colorado,* Ms., n. d., 140 pp., both in Regis College Archives, Denver.

[2] *Catalogus Provinciae Neapolitanae Societatis Jesu, Ineunte Anno 1919,* Naples, 1919, 42.

Gasparri's account appeared in Italian in the *Lettere Edificanti* of the Neapolitan Province in 1886.[4] It had been dictated by him in Spanish to Father Vito M. Tromby, who translated it into Italian for the records of the Neapolitan Province, where it appeared in print over Gasparri's name four years after his death.[5] Not only is it the only full length account by a participant, but it fills an important gap in the history of the beginnings of the Jesuit Mission of New Mexico and Colorado; and for the general history of the American frontier it is a source of real and unusual value for the story of life on the western trails in the 1860's.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

Containing the account of the journey of Father Donato M. Gasparri of the Society of Jesus, when he went to found the New Mexico mission in 1867.

Although the account of this journey is set forth belatedly, it is not because it is lacking in interests, for I can relate in fullest detail those things which in other letters are related very briefly. This account can be of much value for the history of the mission which the Society founded in New Mexico.

The illustrious John Baptist Lamy, Bishop of Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, after having assisted in the month of October, 1866, at the second National Council of the United States, held in Baltimore, left for Europe charged with carrying and presenting at Rome the acts of the Council. From the time that the diocese of New Mexico had been entrusted to him, in order to do good he had brought from the United States some religious of the Congregation of Our Lady of Loretto for the education of the girls, and from France some Brothers of the Christian Doctrine for the boys. Likewise, on the various journeys which he made in France he always brought French priests to this mission for the good of the people. For the greater development of his diocese on this expedition he asked and obtained from our Very Reverend Father General, Peter Beckx, some Fathers of the Society.

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[3] Defouri, 107-117, and Sister Lilliana Owens, *The History of the Sisters of Loretto in the Trans-Mississippi West,* Ph. D. Ms., St. Louis University, St. Louis, 1935, 312, 313. Secondary accounts may be found in Troy, 1-15, Owens, 307-315, Tromby, 5-7, Defouri, *ut. cit.,* Sister Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fé Trail,* Columbus, 1932, 100-105, and Rev. J. B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross, Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado,* Banning, California, 1898, 257-258.

[4] *Lettere Edificanti della Provincia Napoletana della Compagnia di Gesu, Serie V, 1886-1887,* Naples, 1886, 170-176.

[5] *Ibid.,* preliminary note, 170.

This mission was added to the Neapolitan Province, and the Father General ordered some of the Neapolitan Fathers and Brothers laboring in Spain at the time to leave for New Mexico.

In New Mexico proper there had been no Jesuits prior to 1767 [sic], although they had been in the vicinity, where they were well known and highly esteemed. They returned then one hundred years after they had been expelled from the Spanish colonies.

Father Francesco Ferrante, the provincial at Naples, chose Fathers Donato M. Gasparri and Raffaele Bianchi, and Brother Raffaele Vezza, who would find other companions in Paris and New York. The letter which notified us of the day of our departure arrived on Good Friday, April 19, 1867; it exhorted us to set out at once. So without delay, I, who was in Valencia, Spain, set out for Tortosa on the 23rd to join Fr. Bianchi and Bro. Vezza, and on the following day all three of us left for Barcelona. There we could have remained a few days, but we chose to go by way of Manresa and Zaragoza before leaving Spain, which we would never see again, in order to visit Loyola, which none of us had seen. We reached Manresa on the afternoon of the 25th, Zaragoza on the 26th, and Loyola on the 27th. On the following day, Low Sunday, we had the consolation of celebrating mass at the home of our saintly father Ignatius, and of honoring and venerating his sacred memory. In Loyola we met two French priests and Fr. O'Callaghan of Maryland who were on their way back from Rome, and with them we left for Bayona on that same Sunday afternoon. On the following day, the 29th, we alone went to Bordeaux, on the 30th we were at Blois, and on the 1st of May we arrived at Paris, which was the day we were due there, in accordance with our instructions. But it was not necessary to be in such a hurry, because the ship which was to take us was not to leave Havre until the 9th of May; and neither Bishop Lamy nor his companions, with whom we were to travel, were in Paris. We found only our Brother Prisco Caso, who joined us for the mission. Being in Paris we went to see the

Universal Exposition with Bishop Lamy and Fr. Secchi, and on the 7th we departed for Havre. In the bishop's party there were three secular priests and eight seminarians, among whom were two of his nephews. On the 9th we embarked on the ship *Europa* of the Compagnie Transatlantique, and we left port at noon. On the following day we anchored at the port of Brest. Many disembarked, and some of us went to our House, returning to sleep on board. On the 11th, the feast of Saint Francis Girolamo, we were able to say Mass in our church at Brest, and in the afternoon we returned to the ship. Among the passengers were two Prussian Fathers of our Society, Fathers Braun and De Xahua-Badliz [de Haza-Radlitz], on their way to St. Louis, Missouri, whose acquaintance it was our pleasure to make three days later.

Sea voyages are ordinarily all alike and monotonous, if this sad monotony is not interrupted by wind and storm. Ours was a most happy one, despite some dangers which we encountered. The wind was always against us. During the first three days the weather was good, but after a while it became rainy and foggy. Off Newfoundland a real storm arose, but on Sunday the sea was calm and we said Mass. Although the fog was very thick on the 22nd, nevertheless the following day was magnificent. We were approaching the continent and we began to see land, which made us very happy after so many days on the sea. At last we entered the port of New York, or bay of the Hudson River. The voyage, which was over three thousand (3000) miles distance, took us twelve days. Because we were missionaries much of our baggage was let in duty free at the New York customs house, which would have been quite the contrary in Europe. There we separated from the bishop and his companions, and went to our College of Saint Francis Xavier where we were received by our brethren with much hospitality. We remained a few days in New York, and in that great and populous city we saw many beautiful things.

On the very night that we reached New York, Fr. Angelo Paresce, provincial of the Maryland Province, was notified of our arrival, as was expected. As he was of our province, our Father Provincial and the very reverend Father General had recommended us to him. Also a Father in Maryland was to join us, Fr. Livio Vigilante, of our province, who was at this time at the College of Worcester. He and Fr. Paresce reached New York on the 25th of March. As the following day was Sunday, we waited until Monday the 27th, when we left for Baltimore at about eight o'clock in the morning. By noon we were in Philadelphia, and at four o'clock in the afternoon we reached Baltimore, one of the largest cities in the United States, situated on the Patapsco River, founded by the Catholics, Lord Baltimore and his colony, where for the first time religious liberty was proclaimed. In this same city, after the United States had declared their independence, was established the first Episcopal See in 1783 [1789] because up to that time the American Catholics were subject to the Vicar Apostolic of London. The first Bishop of Baltimore was our Fr. John Carroll, who was presented by the American clergy and approved by the Holy Father Pius VI. The diocese of Baltimore was not created until 1789, and the said Father was not consecrated until 1790.

We remained some time in Baltimore, from whence we went to Georgetown, and then returned. On the 4th of June the five of us moved on to Cincinnati, destined for the New Mexico Mission, travelling 544 miles by railroad, from eight o'clock Tuesday morning until five o'clock Wednesday afternoon. On the following day, after dinner, we left Cincinnati for Saint Louis, where we arrived the next day before noon, after travelling three hundred and forty miles. On the 10th, the first Sunday after Pentecost, after our noon meal, we departed for Leavenworth. There, at the home of Monsignor Miège, of our Society, Vicar Apostolic of Kansas, the rest of our companions were awaiting us with Bishop Lamy. From New York to Leavenworth we had travelled one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine miles, all by railroad. We rested there for three days and on Friday, after dinner, we resumed our journey.

Besides the bishop, we were six priests, three of the Society and three seculars, two of our Brothers, two Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, five nuns, three Sisters of Loretto and two Sisters of Charity, a young French student with his parents and a sister, a young Mexican, a nephew of the bishop, and four other persons, twenty-six in all. We had two wagons for provisions, five carriages, and various mules and horses, some for riding and others for heavier duty. Since there were no more railroads some travelled in carriages and others on horseback, and that afternoon we travelled very little distance. From Leavenworth to Junction City, crossing mountain country, the road was rocky and difficult. Along the road we came across growing villages and cities. When it was necessary to stop, either by day or by night, we would make camp near some inhabited place. We would unloose the animals and prepare dinner or supper, everyone doing his part in the preparation of the meal. When night came, after supper and recreation, everyone, whenever and wherever he pleased, would spread his blanket on the ground and go to sleep; but for the nuns there was a tent. During the first few nights rain sometimes accompanied by thunder and lightning caused us great trouble and made it difficult for us to sleep, and during the day we suffered greatly from the heat. More than once the road was badly damaged by the storms, which with other causes greatly delayed our journey.

On the 20th toward evening we arrived at the place occupied by the Pottowatomi Indians, in the center of which is located the headquarters of the mission founded by our Jesuit Fathers, and where there is also a college of ours for the boys, and another for the girls run by the Religious of the Sacred Heart. We were well received there by the Fathers. On Sunday, the 23rd, the bishop preached in English. In Church there were both Americans and Indians. That night there was a musical program because it was the eve of the bishop's saint's day. There we were joined by Fr. de Blieck, a Belgian of the Missouri province whom our Fathers had turned over to the bishop for a while.

On the 24th we departed, and that night we arrived at Louisville. On the following day we crossed the Blue River by boat, and stopped near a village named Manhattan. Two days later, on the 27th, we reached the Republican River, which we also crossed by boat, and two or three miles from there we stopped at Junction City to rest. We remained there that night and the following day in order to obtain information regarding the wild Indians and to make proper preparations because we were going to travel for many days over desert country. Although the reports we had concerning the Indians were very fearful, nevertheless our caravan went on from Junction City. Other caravans were soon to leave Leavenworth with our baggage, but they were not taking the same road.

We spent that night a few miles from Junction City. The next day, which was the feast of St. Peter, the bishop said mass and then returned to Junction City on business. There we were visited by four peaceful Indians, all badly equipped and dirty and only one of whom was armed. They greeted us in their language, "Hau, Hau," shook hands, sat on the ground near us, and asked for coffee, tobacco, and liquor. After they had eaten and observed everything, they left, for which reason we thought they were spies. Although we caught up with other groups of travellers we went ahead, and thus we travelled alone for three days, whereas the others joined them in order to be better protected. But on the 3rd of July we also tried to reach other caravans which were ahead of us. We met a dozen Indians, but they did not give us any trouble, perhaps because they saw that we were a goodly number.

The wagons of the caravans were drawn by oxen, and on account of this going was slow. Whenever many caravans would join together certain rules and regulations were established. A captain was chosen whom all must obey, and he had his council composed of men chosen from among the drivers of the wagons. When we joined the caravan that had been ahead of us, it already had its captain. Nevertheless they offered the command to the bishop. But he thanked them for the honor and left them in authority as they were more familiar with that type of travel. Since they were Mexicans and Catholics they were very pleased to travel with us, and they promised to defend us from the Indians at any cost. They were many and they were leading about eighty wagons. Whenever we stopped we would form a camp surrounded by the wagons in order to protect ourselves from attack.

From the night of July 3rd until the 31st of the same month we travelled along the edge of the Arkansas River. It has its source in the Rocky Mountains and empties into the Mississippi, and its course is (1,600) sixteen hundred miles. Its banks were infested with Indians, and a few days before there had been attacks and clash of arms. Often we would come across signs of destruction, such as houses in ruins, earth piled up over dead bodies, parts of corpses, arms, clothes, and abandoned wagons. On the 6th, early in the morning, we saw a band of twelve Indians, well armed and well provided. Peacefully they asked us for coffee and tobacco, and they in turn offered us buffalo meat. On the following day there was great consternation. We thought that we had seen a large band of Indians, and there was rumor that they had attacked another caravan ahead of us. On this account orders were given to stop and prepare ourselves for attack, with arms in hand, but thanks be to God nothing happened. The next day we had a similar experience. There was a thick fog and some members of the caravan went out to look for our animals, which we would let out to graze whenever we stopped. But a short while later we saw the animals returning without the men, who had lost their way in the fog. As they were delaying and it was time to depart the captain gave orders to resume the journey, ordering some to remain behind to await and search for them. But when the fog cleared, since they did not see the wagons, but the men on horseback instead, they thought them to be Indians, and they were very frightened because they were without weapons or horses. On this account they hid themselves behind the trees and thought themselves lost. But when the riders approached they recognized them to be their companions, and returned with them to rejoin the caravan. From that day onward the road was less deserted, for we found post-houses and forts where soldiers were stationed.

On the 11th of June we reached the Panama River and it took us all day to cross it. Fort Larned is near there, and we stopped there for a while because a few Catholic soldiers were sick with cholera and they desired to see a priest. On the following day we had three cases of cholera among those in our caravan, and one died within a few hours. On the same day we thought that we could see a herd of animals in the distance, and many from the caravan hastened, some on foot and some on horseback, to hunt them down, but upon approaching them it was discovered that they were men, and believing them to be Indians they turned back in order to warn us of the danger, so that we could make preparations for our defense. But instead it was another caravan that had been attacked by Indians the day before and which was about to defend itself from us, believing us to be Indians.

Continuing our journey that day, in the afternoon we succeeded in killing many buffalo. On the 16th we arrived at Fort Dodge, which is fifty-five miles from Fort Larned, and we resumed our journey immediately after supper. In the evening, at sunset, we saw some Indians rushing towards us. We stopped, unharnessed the animals, and placed them within the protection of the wagons with which we surrounded our camp, and with weapons ready we prepared to defend ourselves. But in less than a quarter of an hour the Indians had disappeared, hiding themselves behind the hills, from whence they later attempted to attack thinking that we had forgotten them. But they did not come near us for they were frightened by our position and the shouts of the Mexicans, and they soon departed. That very same night, another caravan which was about four miles away having been attacked by Indians and a great number of lives having been lost, a messenger from that caravan rode into our camp to ask for help. Our men were stationed in various groups around the wagons, some standing watch and others sleeping. The man who had come was an American, but fearing him to be a spy or a traitor we did not deem it advisable to listen to his request. In any case it was dangerous to divide our people or to move camp by night. He left, but a short time later he returned to our camp and spent the night with us. In the morning we went on and joined the other caravan. We visited the wounded, one of whom was a Protestant who through the ministrations of Fr. de Blieck was converted, baptized, and died a Catholic.

News of the fate of this caravan must have reached Fort Dodge, because before noon some soldiers from that fort joined us. We remained there all day, and that night we received the sad news that a Mexican caravan from Las Vegas had suffered the loss of five hundred and thirty oxen, and two lives at the hands of the Indians. But it was their fault, for they had permitted the animals to graze too far from the wagons. The following day we went as far as a ford in the river where about six hundred persons were gathered together. Some attempted to cross the river at that point but it was quite difficult. On the 22nd we went on a little farther in search of a place where we could cross the river more safely. Here one of the young men had an attack of cholera. On continuing our journey we spied some Indians. We were between the river on one side and some hills on the other. We immediately made camp and prepared for our defense. A short while later we saw a great number of Indians rushing down toward us from the hills. There were about three hundred of them, but most of them remained on the hills; they must have had their families and their belongings with them.

When these Indians wish to make a planned attack they use a strange stratagem. They commence to run about the camp in all directions, making it very difficult to determine their plans, and this method was employed by those who attacked us that day. Our people began to fire upon them but they paid no attention and went on with their movements. Then they gathered in various groups as if to consult on some plan, and after they had separated again they began to run and fire at us at the same time. Whereas our men had to fire at them while they were in flight, the Indians had us standing still in our camp. The Mexicans killed and wounded some of the enemy, but these Indians, who dread to leave their dead or wounded in the hands of the enemy, picked them up and carried them away. We fought for more than two hours without any loss on our part. However, one of the Mexicans died of cholera in a few hours, and a short while later another who had been afflicted since morning met the same fate. We wished to resume our journey but it was too late, and we remained there all night. At about sunset an Indian appeared on the other side of the river unarmed and greeted us with the words, "Españoles amigos." Nevertheless, believing him to be a spy we frightened him by pointing guns at him and he fled.

On the following day we resumed our journey without delay. News of the attack had reached Fort Dodge, with the report that our camp had been annihilated with the exception of the nuns who had been taken captive. This report was sent to the Secretary of War in Washington, and from there it spread throughout all the United States and even reached Europe. On that same day, following the attack, one of the nuns got sick, received the last sacraments during the night, and died at ten o'clock the next morning. She was only twenty years old, and her name was Sister Alfonsina Thompson. It is not necessary for me to say how much we grieved her death. For fear of the Indians we did not think that it would be wise to remain at the place where she became ill.

On the 26th we separated from the caravan, believing that we were already out of danger, in order to continue our journey more rapidly. This we did on the border of Kansas and Colorado. Toward evening we arrived at Fort Aubrey where we remained a few hours. About midnight we resumed our journey. The evening of the 29th we reached new Fort Lyon, and many Americans and Irishmen came to visit us. From there we were to cross the Arkansas River in a large government boat. Everything had been arranged with the captain of the fort, but that very same night the boat went down, and it was necessary for us to go as far as Bent's Fort. But the boat there was small and scarcely large enough for the people alone. For this reason it was necessary to continue our journey along the edge of the river. At last, by the grace of God and through the intercession of Saint Ignatius on July 31 we arrived at a place where there was a large boat and so we crossed to the other side of the river. There an altar was set up and Fr. Vigilante said Mass, and the rest of us received Holy Communion in honor of our holy Founder. In the afternoon we resumed our jourey. On the following day, which was the 1st of August, we arrived at Iron Spring, and on the 2nd we reached Rock Spring, where after many days we at last found clear and fresh water; and we began to see some inhabited villages.

On the 3rd, about noon, the parish priest of Trinidad came out to meet us. We were only a short distance from that village. Trinidad is situated on the Las Animas River, which river still goes by that name, and at the foot of Ratón Mountain, one of the highest of the Rocky Mountains chain. The inhabitants received us with great joy, and on the following day, which was Sunday, August 4th, we said Mass and resumed our journey to Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico Territory, and of the three dioceses of Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. We were still two hundred and eight miles from Santa Fé. That night we arrived at Toll Gate or Summit House. On Monday morning we descended to the plain and crossed the Colorado River. On the following day we crossed the Vermejo River and the Cimarron. The night of the 7th we arrived at a small village named Virginia City, and on the 8th we reached Lago Salado, where thanks to God we were not bothered by the Ute Indians, who from time to time infest those regions. From there we resumed our journey to Mora, another village near which the parish priest came out to meet us, and with whom we proceeded as far as a place named Ocate. In order to pass on from there to Mora there was some difficulty due to the captain at Fort Union. But this difficulty was overcome and we arrived at Mora on the following day. There we spent two more days. From there we went to Las Vegas and then on to San Miguel. Everything we were received with great acclaim. On the 14th of August we arrived at Glorieta, which is on the road to Santa Fé, and on the 15th we entered the capital accompanied by a magnificent procession composed of men on horseback and in carriages, and all the townspeople who had come out to meet us. And here we must say that among those who came out to meet us were many well-to-do Protestants and Governor Mitchell in person. As soon as we entered the city we went straight to the church where we sang the Te Deum and the bishop gave the benediction. Afterward we went to the bishop's residence, the brothers of Christian Doctrine and the nuns went to their respective convents, and the people sought their homes. And thus by Divine Goodness and Providence our journey came to a happy ending.

And now is set forth briefly the distance in miles traveled from Leavenworth to Santa Fé:

From Leavenworth to Junction City	150 miles
From Junction City to Fort Larned	168 miles

From Fort Larned to Fort Dodge	55 miles
From Fort Dodge to Fort Aubrey	101 miles
From Fort Aubrey to Fort Lyon	68 miles
From Fort Lyon to Bent's Old Fort	34 miles
From Bent's Old Fort to Gray's Ranch	91 miles
From Maxwell to Santa Fé with various stops	163 miles

If to this we add also 1,563 + 3,300 + 1,579 = 6,442 miles, for the various stops made between Valencia, Havre, Leavenworth, and Santa Fé, we have a total of 7,340 miles.

DONATO M.ª GASPARRI, S. J.

Notes and Comment

CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB PRIBER

A communication by Father Joseph Cantillon (signed J. C.) to the *Historical Bulletin* of November, 1936, called the attention of readers to the fact that the Appleton's *Cyclopedia* listed thirty-one individuals in its pages as Jesuits, and that these are unknown as such to all except the anonymous author or authors of the *Cyclopedia* articles. If the gentleman whose name heads this note had been deemed worthy of an entry in the Appleton compilation, he would most assuredly share with the thirty-one a similar good fortune, or misfortune, depending upon one's point of view. We read in a thesis, presented to the University of Pennsylvania by John P. Corry and published in 1936 under the title *Indian Affairs in Georgia, 1732-1756,* page 109: "Perhaps the most interesting and enigmatic figure in the history of Anglo-French Cherokee relations was Christian Gottlieb Priber, a man who was oddly enough neither Frenchman nor Englishman, but a German Jesuit." The basis for the statement by Mr. Corry, as the reference indicates, is the article of Verner W. Crane, "A Lost Utopia of the First American Frontier," in the *Sewanee Review* (XXVII, 1919, 48-61). Turning to this article we are enlightened regarding the manner in which Mr. Corry made rumor a fact, and regarding the enigmatic Priber. We observe that the "backwoods Utopian (Priber), who, in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, imported into the wilderness the most radical current European social and political philosophy," was regarded by the authorities of the frontier provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, "as a most dangerous foe of English interests among the southern Indians, and agent of the French, even, it was darkly hinted a Jesuit." Whence this darksome hint? It is not found in contemporary accounts. Naturally, it would be too much to expect Priber to reveal his mysterious identity, to mention, even, such a heinous status in the letter, addressed by him to the trustees asking leave to go to Georgia, and found in the edition of A. D. Candler, *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1904, I, 218). Nor is there any hint in Adair's *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775, 240-243), wherein the English writer speaks of Priber and his scheme for obtaining universal happiness; nor is the hint in Grant's *Relation,* published in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (X, 1909, 59). The latter speaks of "one Pryber who Called himself a German but was certainly an Agent for the French." There is not question of his being a Jesuit in the South Carolina *Gazette* (August 15, 1743). Antoine Bonnefoy, during his captivity among the Cherokees, met Priber. The Frenchman refers to the German several times in his journal, and calls him *Pierre Albert, pivé Albert, Pivé Albert,* and *Privé Albert* (Archives des Colonies, Paris, F 3:365v, 367, 367v), but not once does he mention him as a Jesuit. We may safely assume that if there had been the least suspicion that Priber was in any way connected with the Jesuits, the contemporaries just quoted would have said so. Moreover, the name of Priber is not found among the Jesuits listed in the official catalogues of the Order as present in North America for that period.

Priber was first made a member of the Jesuit order by *Americus,* the author of the communication to the *Annual Register for 1760, Characters,* 23, in which he says that while Oglethorpe was making an incursion to the very gates of St. Augustine, "one Preber, a German jesuit, as he afterwards appeared to be, was sent prisonner to Frederica." Unfortunately Americus forgot to tell us how he found out that Priber was a Jesuit. Later in the same communication he wrote "what passed at his several examinations, it is not in my power to determine; but the consequence was, that he was detained a prisoner, and so remained when I left the colony, at the beginning of the year 1744." The legend was born. W. B. Stevens in his *History of Georgia* (New York, 1847, I, 164), speaks of "the artful intrigues of a German Jesuit named Christian Priber, who was employed by the French to spy out the conditions of the English provinces, and to seduce the Cherokees from their allegiance to the English"; and after having given the main tenets of Priber's Utopia, he continues: "Such was the strange being whose Jesuitical intrigues well-nigh eventuated in the destruction of Georgia. A thorough Jesuit, an accomplished linguist, a deep tactician, far-sighted in his plans, and far-reaching in his expedients. J. Grahame, *History of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1850, II^2, 139), refers to "one Preber, a German Jesuit, whose intrigues among the Creeks and Cherokees were happily detected and defeated by Oglethorpe." The following year, A. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Charleston, 1851, I, 318), prefaces the account of Adair about Priber with the following remarks: "While the English of Carolina and Georgia were engaged in various schemes to rid the territory of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi of its French populations, by unscrupulous intrigues with the natives, the French were but little behind them in similar enterprises. The Jesuits were adventurous and brave and men of captivating address, and obtained much influence over the leading Chiefs, wherever they appeared. An account of the artful intrigues of a German Jesuit, named Christian Priber, as related, in his singular style, by James Adair, an old British trader, who lived forty years among the Cherokees and Chickasaws, will now be introduced." Pickett does not say that Adair is not saying that Priber was a Jesuit. The Journal of Bonnefoy referred to above was published by N. D. Mereness in *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York, 1916). In the introduction, page 239, the editor wrote: "The French, however, were no less active than the English. In 1736, they engaged Christian Priber, a German Jesuit, to alienate the Cherokees from the English."

These few quotations show how each succeeding writer repeated uncritically what the other had said. That this should be the case is more or less to be expected from the various authors cited, but what is extraordinary is to find the Priber legend given a new lease of life in the doctoral thesis mentioned at the beginning of this note, especially in this thesis which purports to be a continuation of Dr. Crane's study on the *Southern Frontier.* Dr. Crane reviewing Mereness' compilation in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (IV, 1917-1918, 384), wrote: "The extraordinary backwoods utopian encountered by the *voyageur* Bonnefoy is rightly identified with Priber; but it is an open question whether he was in fact engaged by the French to alienate the Cherokee from the English (certainly not in 1736, for in 1735 he was already a resident of Charles

Town); and in any case it is highly improbable that he was a Jesuit." Not only highly improbable, but he was certainly not a Jesuit. Later, Dr. Crane modified his statement in the *Dictionary of American Biography,* writing that Priber's "methods, and his warnings to the Indians of English encroachments, convinced the colonists that he was a French agent, some declared a Jesuit." The "some" mentioned here appear to stand for *Americus* of the *Annual Register,* who we may remark left America at the beginning of 1744. When Adair published his work long after this date, he did not think he had to make a Jesuit of Priber. Of course, it would be naïve to expect Priber to be shorn of his Jesuit status in the next book dealing with the history of Georgia in the eighteenth century. Legends have more lives than the proverbial cat.—J. D.

ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE MEETING

More than usual interest was taken in the sessions of the Academy of Political Science convention, held in New York City in November, 1937, at the Hotel Astor. Over one thousand college professors, economists, business and professional men attended, and this was said to be the largest representation in the fifty-seven years of existence of the Academy. Secretary Morgenthau and Senator Byrd spoke after the banquet as representatives of the two opposing elements of the Democratic Party, and the addresses were broadcast over a nation-wide hookup, indicative of the importance with which the proceedings were considered by the entire country. Cleavage of opinion was evident on questions of spending, taxation, and Federal incursions into fields of regulation and operation hitherto occupied by private industry.

Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, a partner of the John P. Morgan firm, presided, and in his address received almost unanimous applause when he stated that the United States had probably "the worst tax system of any civilized country." Senator Byrd demanded that the Government "stop writing checks" and adopt a "pay-as-you-go basis" through economies, repeal of the undistributed profits tax, and other tax modifications to encourage business activities. The balanced budget came in for criticism. Secretary Morgenthau expressed himself for the expansion of private business and against additional taxation, amid applause, but received good-natured twitting about the balanced budget. The significance of the discussion is revealed in the message of the President to Congress a week later.

The morning session was devoted to a consideration of the national budgets of the three great democracies, England, France, and the United States. Dr. Fred R. Fairchild, Professor of Political Economy at Yale, criticized our "budget workmanship" as having a distinctly "amateurish flavor." Dr. Harley L. Lutz, Professor of Public Finance at Princeton University, extolled the British "pay-as-you-go policy." Dr. Fairchild, citing the overestimation of revenues and underestimation of expenditure since 1930, continued: "It is not easy to avoid a suspicion of bias when we find predictions erring so consistently on one side. The American people are justified in demanding from those entrusted with the conduct of their national finances a higher standard of budget-making and a more scrupulous regard for sincerity in financial statements." He scored in no uncertain terms the "double budget" of recent years. Professor Haig discussed the

French budget. Dr. Lutz's laudatory observations on the practical way in which the English have met their budgetary problem, were rather rudely shattered by D. Graham Hutton, Assistant Editor of the *London Economist,* former Lecturer at the London School of Economics. In his opinion there was nothing "superior" and "infallible" or different in the methods used by the English in handling their financial problems; in fact, the problem of taking care of the national defense is becoming more and more difficult. It is apparent that all three countries are confronted with a serious budgetary crisis, conditions in France being more serious than in any of the other countries. The afternoon session touched more directly on the question of balancing the budget in the United States, the methods by which it might be accomplished, and the probable results if a sudden check were placed on federal spending. Many left the sessions with a feeling approaching pessimism for the future of business recovery and the stability of the stock and bond markets.—J. Z.

CURRENT LITERATURE AND RESEARCH

The historian in search of materials pertaining to more recent events frequently is forced to turn to the pages of newspapers and current periodicals. Formerly this large block of material was considered the habitat of authoritative documents, but now it is used only for citation of partisan opinions. Proof, if such is necessary, that the press may not be regarded as trustworthy by the historian, comes in the form of a book, *The Washington Correspondents,* by Leo C. Rosten. For sixteen months the author investigated the character, training, education, competency, truthfulness, objectivity, freedom for expression, and affiliations of news writers of national importance. Practically one-third of the correspondents writing from Washington were eliminated because they were relatively of minor influence. Of the remaining one hundred and twenty-seven questioned, one-third considered it almost impossible to be objective in writing national news, because of the policy of their papers. On the point of fairness and reliability a great number of newspapers were explicitly or implicitly condemned, while the significance of the same was questioned or rated very low. Fifty-five writers answered one question to the effect that freedom in the publications of their observations was not permitted where policy was in question. Varying and notable numbers of the correspondents manifested personal bias toward some or other question, such as labor, business, taxation, and national programs.

The historian need not be informed that there is a moral in this and that there is a conclusion to be drawn. It might be pointed out that this survey of the manner in which news is dispensed to this generation and made part of the growing batch of materials which some day may be quoted by a new generation of students, might well be indicated by teachers of historical methods and analysis to students preparing to be masters and doctors in history. Professors assigned to conduct the class in methodology and writers of texts on historical method are frankly distrustful of current periodical materials, yet it is clear that in some cases newspapers and magazines are rendering history a service by imparting information as accurately as possible. Mr. Rosten has done considerable toward weeding out the untrustworthy, but much remains to be done. Because of findings of this type and because of the unreliability or incompetency of those describing an event, an attitude of skepticism is likely to be extended in an unhealthy way toward all historical materials, and the feeling may go abroad that the truth of the matter is unattainable, or that it is subjective, or that there is no truth. The conclusion should be, rather, that newspaper and magazine evidence is to be approached in a spirit of distrust, for, after all, an event occurred in only one way, and hence the objective truth remains. The subjective impressions of witnesses and the distortions of the truth merely increase the labor of the scholar rather than his despair of the attainability of the truth.

FEDERAL WRITERS PROJECT

One of the products of the Federal Writers Project, the first of a series of city guide books, describes Galena, Illinois. The Works Progress Administration has some six thousand researchers and writers employed in exposing the past and present claims to fame of localities throughout the United States. *Galena Guide* is the first of a well planned American Guide Series. It consists of an historical survey of the mining city in the far northeast corner of Illinois, with etchings interspersed, and a photograph and map section at the end of the eighty pages of text and statistics. While the booklet is an illustration of what can be done it serves also as an indication of what will have to be done, if the purpose of imparting historical information is ever to be achieved. The remedy is simple. A scholar should read the manuscripts and check errors before the printing. Otherwise, the appropriations will have been expended toward a fund of unreliable or useless information, and what educational potentialities such booklets have for the general public and for the progress in scholarship of the workers, will have been squandered.

VARIA

The Reverend Thomas F. Cullen has produced his *Catholic Church in Rhode Island,* printed by the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, North Providence, Rhode Island, in 482 pages. The first part of the book is a survey of early Catholic Church developments in Maryland and New England, leading to the first Rhode Island parishes. The next part describes the organization of the dioceses of New England. The story, centering around the lives of the succession of bishops and told in reverent words, comes down to the present time. The third part is taken up with parish histories, beginning with the cathedral of Providence. The last portion is devoted to religious communities and lay societies. The very brief bibliography at the end scarcely reveals the industry of Father Cullen, and the format is far from pretentious. While designed for popular reading, the book is capable of expansion in many places, and it may well be used as an outline for future research.

The United States Catholic Historical Society published the twenty-eighth volume of *Historical Records and Studies* in November, 1937 (New York, 271 pages). The first part of the contents is "American Prelates in the Vatican Council," by Raymond J. Clancy, C. S. C. It takes the nature of a compilation of great utility, including much documentary material in the survey of seventy-five pages; another sixty pages is devoted to appendices, documents, including the officials of the Council, the activities of the American hierarchy outside the Council, the Letter of Archbishop Spalding to Bishop Dupanloup, the speech of Archbishop Blanchet, and the lengthly "Concio" of Archbishop Kenrick. Another article well documented is "Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution," by William F. Mullaney, O. M. I. This is a master's dissertation written for the Catholic University of America on the subject of a recent book by James Alton James. A shorter article is entitled "James Kerrigan," by Sara M. Murphy. Mr. Thomas F. Meehan makes a very notable bibliographical contribution in his "Early Catholic Weeklies." The periodicals of the last century are listed with a three-page bibilography of fifty anti-Catholic books of the Society's collection.

In speaking of bibliographies the excellent work of the editors of the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* published at the Catholic University of Louvain, deserves prominent mention. The October, 1937, number of the quarterly adds 1,537 books and articles to the previous list of 6,851, and cites competent reviews of 1,891 books previously listed. An index of names of authors and reviewers of all works in the bibliography is supplied and is of great service.

The Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University, Chicago, announces the publication of the first of its Studies, *The Historical Sources and Some La Salle Journeys,* by Jean Delanglez, S. J., Ph. D. The study in approximately one hundred pages will be ready in January of this year.

William Warren Sweet has gathered up materials for a second volume of documents pertaining to church history and religion. The first volume was *Religion on the American Frontier, The Baptists, 1783-1830;* the present volume is *Religion on the American Frontier, The Presbyterians, 1783-1840.* Preceding the letters and autobiographies is an introductory survey of the organization and spread of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and the subsequent schisms and divisions. Some of the items have no importance and others are examples of the emotionalism and intolerance of the times, but the whole work is significant as an effort at a new evaluation of the frontier from a religionist viewpoint.

Professor J. Orin Oliphant is the author of an article, published in *The Pacific Historical Review,* September, 1937, "George Simpson and the Oregon Missions." The Bucknell professor inquires into the concern of Governor Simpson for the welfare of the Oregon Indians. Simpson was contemptuous of missionary activities, until it became clear to him that unconverted and orgy-loving tribesmen were a hindrance to the fur trade. Thereupon he favored the coming of the missionaries of various denominations to the Columbia River Basin.

Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society 1936 (Publication 43) contains the addresses delivered at the 1936 meeting of the Society. Two addresses dealt with the historical significance of the state parks of Illinois, one by James Alton James and the other by Robert Kingery. Theodore C. Pease indicated possibilities for research in "The French

Régime in Illinois, A Challenge to Historical Scholarship," and Earl W. Hayter presented a paper on "Sources of Early Illinois Culture."

A Guide to the Resources of the American Antiquarian Society was recently published at Worcester, Massachusetts. A general description is given, pages 35 to 86, of the library and archival materials available to students. The booklet is amply illustrated and contains an index.

The Louisiana Historical Quarterly, October, 1937, continues its publication of valuable documents, "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana for January-June, 1751," and "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana for April, 1783." The Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, issued a seventy-page illustrated brochure entitled *General Zachary Taylor,* whose emphasis is on the war with Mexico.

The Pacific Northwest Quarterly, October, 1937, published a "Survey of Spokane Church Archives." The archival materials in all the active and defunct churches of Spokane, Washington, are indicated briefly with mention of the condition and availability of the records.

Book Reviews

The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire 1810-1822. By Charles Carroll Griffin. New York, Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. 315.

With wars raging in Spain and the Orient neutrality has become the bugbear of the chanceries of all nations. Any textbook of international law devotes a chapter to neutrality. The general principles are easily grasped, but the application of these principles to concrete situations is difficult and usually fraught with danger. In their perplexity, however, statesmen can thumb the pages of their nation's history for precedents to serve as guides, for, except the case of newborn governments, the history of any country will supply instances of neutrality legislation under conditions, similar if not identical, with those of today.

Almost at the beginning of our existence as a sovereign nation the Washington administration adopted the policy of neutrality in regard to conflicts carried on by European powers, and from that day to this our government has played the rôle of a neutral nation on many occasions. One such occasion was the "Era of Emancipation," 1820-1830, when various sections of South and Central America declared their independence of Spain, and after various vicissitudes maintained their new status.

That period was one of peculiar difficulty for the United States, because many forces and emotions found play. Since Spain had striven to keep our domain restricted to the Atlantic seaboard, and, failing in this, had done her best to check our expansion into the Mississippi Valley, public opinion here was anything but toward Spain. Florida and Texas, the western boundary of Louisiana, were questions on which the United States and Spain were wholly at variance. Spain's exclusion of other nations from commercial relations with her vast domain in the Americas aroused resentment in many quarters. Besides, there was a natural sympathy for people who seemed to be imitating our example in their quest for liberty and the right of self-government. On the one hand were our obligations, according to international law, towards another sovereign state with whom we were at peace; on the other was the knowledge that but for aid given us under similar circumstances we could not have thrown off the yoke of England. In time, however, the factional disputes among the rebels, the encouraging of desertion from United States merchant ships, the military despotism established in some places, the general non-existence of really democratic institutions, and the known monarchical leaning at Buenos Aires and elsewhere in Hispanic America weakened enthusiasm for the rebel cause, and in some cases gave birth to the belief that the people of Central and South America were unfitted to assume the responsibilities of self-government. Why substitute one tyranny for another, it was asked? Finally privateering, a centuries' old resort of the nations, raised endless difficulties, for though the rights of privateers were recognized, piracy was outlawed, and the difference between privateering and piracy was one of nomenclature. Moreover, while some privateers of the rebel countries applied at our ports for the treatment usually accorded such vessels, other ships of the same countries began to prey on United States commerce when Spanish ships without armed escort almost vanished from the high seas.

Under these circumstances our officials in the State Department were put to the test. Some proved to have feet of clay, but John Quincy Adams, the secretary of state, made a good record. Adams believed that a peaceful solution of all the difficulties between the United States and Spain was possible, and preferable to war. Accordingly he worked along these lines, and his efforts bore fruit in the Adams-Onis Treaty. After protracted negotiation this treaty was drawn up, and ratified unanimously by the Senate within two days of its signing. But the end was not yet. For two years Spain withheld ratification, largely because it hurt her pride to surrender territory, and because of the schemes of Spanish speculators in Florida real estate. Though indignant over Spanish procrastination, President Monroe kept his head, and Adams, the special sponsor of the treaty, proved remarkably long-suffering. When others lost heart or were inclined to use force, he remained hopeful. Exactly two years after the treaty was signed in Washington Spain yielded when she found Castlereagh disinclined to underwrite her scheme of reconquest, and a decisive victory of the rebels in Columbia, the successful revolt of Iturbide in Mexico, Peru's declaration of independence, and the threatening breakup of the European front destroyed the last vestiges of hope of gain by delay.

By the terms of the treaty the government of the United States was left free to accord or withhold recognition of the new governments. Even so Adams, always a champion of legal form, would grant recognition only when they had definitely proved themselves to be 'de facto' governments. Spain could not consider such action an affront because it was in conformity with the practice of nations.

Through the maze of negotiation, proposal and counter-proposal, argument, propaganda, politics, and intrigue Dr. Griffin proves a good guide. At all times he is calm, objective, impartial. Content for the most part to let records speak for themselves, he is not afraid to praise or blame when he is warranted in doing so. Of necessity he relies chiefly on official documents and correspondence, but newspapers, periodicals, memoirs, and private letters are used; these undoubtedly shed light on this involved decade of our history, but how close are they to revealing the truth? The fourteen pages of closely printed pages in the bibliography attest the comprehensiveness of the research on which this volume is based. The student of diplomatic history, no less than the student of Spanish-American history, is indebted to Dr. Griffin for clarifying a hitherto obscure period.

Charles H. Metzger

The Colonial Agents of New York and New Jersey. By Edward P. Lilly. Washington, D. C., The Catholic University of America, 1936. Pp. ix+237.

The study being reviewed was submitted as a doctoral dissertation to the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America. It is decidedly a credit to the institution which sponsored it, and an asset to the literature of the colonial period. As the title indicates, the scope is properly limited to the actions of the colonial agents of the New York and New Jersey colonies. The six chapters are devoted respectively to the colonial agency as an institution, the appointment of temporary agents, the appointment of permanent agents, the agent in action, the boundaries and the agent, and the agent's general activity. The necessity for the services of individuals who would be able to represent the colonies before the English authorities is very clearly set forth in the opening chapter. The entire background of the controversy relative to the precise powers and duties of the colonial agent is discussed. In summation, Dr. Lilly has concluded, "Despite all the material available, it is difficult to definitely state the attitude of the English authorities toward the colonial agency. That the institution was tolerated is an underestimate and yet the agency cannot be classified as an integral organ of British colonial administration. At best it was an extra-legal development which the provinces utilized for the presentation of the colonial aspirations and necessities before the English authorities. The latter officials accepted the institution, received the available information and regulated this system of representation for the general interests of the empire" (p. 27). The English made use of the colonial agent in ordering the administration of the colonies, but did not feel any obligation to grant the demands made by the agent. Many colonists realized that representation in the British parliament would be of little value to them, since they would be such a distinct minority group, and, at times, hoped that the colonial agent would be able to accomplish more than duly elected members of the British Parliament, drawn from the colonies.

The agent did represent a bond which might have gradually drawn the colonies and the mother country together. The fact that such a development did not take place was not altogether the fault of the colonies. The failure of the colonial agents to secure due consideration for the demands of the colonies was naturally one of the many factors which tended to make the war between the colonies and the mother country more or less inevitable.

The various chapters give ample attention to domestic developments in the colonies concerned, with the result that the activities of the agents are understandable. Documentation from source material serves to establish the soundness of the statements made and the positions taken. Much material that is essential for the completeness of the study, but which would interrupt the thread of the narrative, is placed in footnote citations. The richness of the documentation, and the paragraphs of the bibliographical essay, make very clear the thorough research completed during the preparation of the dissertation. Much more attention has been given to such matters as unity, coherence, clearness, and proportion in this study, than has been accorded to such matters in many dissertations. All points essential to the topic have been included, but there has been no discursive rambling into allied but unessential fields. A carefully prepared index contributes to the inherent worth of this scholarly study of a very important colonial development.

PAUL KINIERY

The Spanish Southwest 1542-1794. By Henry R. Wagner. The Quivira Society, Albuquerque, 1937. Pp. 553. $10.

This annotated bibliography, put forth in the fine format adopted by the Quivira Society for the preceding six volumes of its publications, contains one hundred and fourteen facsimile illustrations, title pages of famous books, and maps, a descriptive bibliography of twenty-four pages, and a full index of twenty-eight pages. The introduction explains the author's purpose in issuing this second edition of *The Spanish Southwest.* The bibliography contained in the two volumes pertains to the northern provinces of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, which in late colonial times became the most independent *Provincias Internas,* and parts of which in republican times became sections of our Union, in other words, the southwestern borderlands. The titles of the books are listed chronologically, except where groupings were necessary because of multiple editions and translations. Use of the notes of José Toribio Medina are made judiciously, and in some instances corrections of statements found in the comprehensive work of the great bibliographer appear. Mr. Wagner's industry in compiling and describing books in this interesting and helpful manner deserves the highest commendation of bibliophiles and historians. What motive the Quivira Society has in publishing such limited editions (in this case 401 copies) is not clear to the reviewer, unless it is that plates are being conserved for less expensive editions.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress: Documents from Early Peru: The Pizarros and the Amalgros, 1531-1578. Edited and translated by Stella R. Clemence. The Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1936. pp. ix+253. $3.25.

Mr. Edward S. Harkness presented a fine collection of Spanish manuscripts to the Library of Congress in 1929. Miss Stella Clemence prepared a *Calendar* of these manuscripts, which was published in 1932. Her latest achievement is the present publication of some of the documents. There are forty-eight of these, all but two of which pertain to the years 1531 to 1545, admirably printed side by side with very good translations. Notes to the Spanish documents are with the text, while the enlightening historical notes to the translations appear at the end of the volume, followed by a quite sufficiently complete index.

The manuscripts undoubtedly are of great value by reason of their antiquity, the autographs of the conquerors, and the materials pertinent to the business transactions of the Pizarros and Amalgros. They are of more value in their present form because of the painstaking labor of Miss Clemence. But one would be rash in stating that all these materials are of great importance to scholars. They are statements of obligations for wages, transportation, freight, supplies, debts, grants of power of attorney to agents and managers, several instructions, releases, and grants of encomiendas, and two complaints of widows of conquerors regarding their losses of Indians. Some of the sources are more important than others— Gonzalo Pizarro's appointment to the governorship of Perú in 1544, and his instructions to Francisco de Carvajal, at the very time when he was working toward the destruction of the king's power in western South America. Interesting also are the legal documents pertaining to Pedro de Alvarado's sale of his armada to Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Amalgro at Quito, and the one of Fray Marcos de Niza, famed later as a forerunner of the Coronado expedition, in which his newly established *custodia* in Quito is turned over to Amalgro in August, 1534. The publication in its entirety is of real value and adds color and substance to the narrative of the conquest of Perú.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Spanish Tales from New Mexico. By José Manuel Espinosa. New York, American Folk-Lore Society, 1937. pp. xix+222.

The folktales of a people are an index to their view of life, their traditional mentality, their soul. The thoughts they muse upon in quiet hours, exchange around the evening fireside, and pass on from mouth to mouth and from one generation to another are more a part of their lives than the external features which attract the attention of the tourist historian. Dr. Espinosa has constituted himself the faithful chronicler of these delightful tales for five counties in north and central New Mexico.

One hundred and fourteen stories, classified as magic, religious, picaresque, romantic, animal, and short anecdotes, make up a volume that has all the flavor and color of a culture transplanted from Old Spain and enduring over three centuries on American soil. In all, forty-three narrators ranging in age from twelve to one hundred years told the stories they could recall, while the compiler wrote them down in as near an approximation as possible to peculiar variations of grammar and pronunciation. The compiler undertook his work well equipped by his personal training and linguistic background. The introduction, bibliography, summaries and bibliographical notes in English, and a glossary leave nothing to desire in the way of scholarship.

The origin of most of the tales is found in Old Castile and Northern Spain. Other sections of Spain have also contributed. Indian influence is all but negligible. The reader who is interested in the long traditions of our Southwest is brought close to the intimate life of a people whose character seems to be changing rapidly.

R. CORRIGAN

And Then the Storm. By Sister M. Monica. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1937. Pp. vii+231. $2.50.

The title of this very worthwhile little book should by all reason read: "I Visit and Study in Spain," for it is an authentic account of the doings and opinions of a mature person who has just recently returned from a long sojourn in the centers of research in Spain. And the value of the book is in its portrayal of contemporary Spanish society as met in going to and from the archives. As a prelude to revolution or a study of the current revolution, this work gives only a political skeleton; nor is it meant to give more, for the author deliberately and wisely refrains from partisanship and maintains throughout a becoming historical objectivity.

One may be surprised to read of a nun, an Ursuline Sister, engaged in the multiple contacts with such a world as she depicts, but this surprise will not survive an acquaintance with Sister Monica and her influence on a not small circle of feminine scholars and thinkers. Yet a reading of the book will do more to make this point than would a wordy eulogy. Her qualifications need not be stated beyond the fact of her scholarly standing and her four years of research lately spent in southern Europe, one in Rome and three in Spain where generous providence enabled her to complete her findings on the important fifth viceroy of Perú, Francisco de Toledo.

The story is the search for complete knowledge and documentation on this great member of the Toledo family. The authoress takes us for a personal tour of the famous archives, the Nacional in Madrid, that of the Indies in Seville, Simancas at Valladolid, and the lesser deposits connected with the smaller cities and the personal holdings of several families of distinction. In this, her work will offer a splendid guide to younger students, assisting them to work in the same archives as well as opening their minds to the possibilities lying hidden in the tremendous sources of old Spain.

In the unique circles where this nun is sheltered, and entertained, and introduced to all sides of Spanish life, there is a large cross-section of society in the peninsula. It is the type of cross-section obtained from a story told in the first person, replete with dialogue and personal narrative, free from speculation and learned essay on the profundities of sociology, but full of the concrete reality that underlies that sociology.

There are a few minor faults in typography in the latter third of the book. There is no fault in taste, nor in elegance of style that makes the volume a delightful pilgrimage through the seats of historical treasures. And readers will wait with eagerness for the appearance of her account of the great viceroy who did so much to build the colonial system of Spain in America.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Monseigneur de Laubérivière. By Comte de Quinsonas. Paris, 1936. Pp. xvii+205.

This interesting biography of François-Louis Pourroy de Laubérivière, fifth Bishop of Quebec, was written by one of his great-grandnephews. The first Bishop was the renowned François de Laval, who was succeeded by Jean de Saint-Vallier. But the Church in New France was unfortunate with the following three appointees to the episcopal see. De Mornay, a Capuchin, the third Bishop of Quebec, "seemed as much attached to his diocese as he was determined never to go there," and it is known that his inclination to remain in France ultimately prevailed over the other sentiment, for he resigned rather than depart for his see. The fourth Bishop of Quebec, Dosquet, made the trip to Canada, stayed fifteen months, and then returned to France, where, because he refused to go back to his see, the government officials in Paris forced him to resign.

Monseigneur de Laubérivière was born in 1711 and was consecrated bishop at the age of twenty-eight years. With youth and zeal urging him, he had no inhibitions with regard to New France, rather he viewed his see as an opportunity for apostolic labor. Shortly after his consecration he embarked for Canada on the *Rubis*. The ship had sailed past Newfoundland, when an epidemic of typhoid fever broke out among passengers and crew. For more than a month the disease raged; a score of people died at sea, and more than one hundred were stricken when the *Rubis* finally reached Quebec. The bishop refused to leave the ship until August 8, because he was "persuaded that his duty was to remain where danger was." Four days later he became ill, and twelve days after he had landed he was dead, a victim of his devotion to duty, a martyr of charity. What the rule of this type of prelate would have been must necessarily remain in the realm of conjecture, but several traits of his character augured well for a bright future. His contemporaries knew the youthful bishop as a humble, laborious priest, totally without human ambition for preferment, as seeking to do good and even willing to do everything in his power to conciliate all.

The author has brought about a happy blending of the findings of Canadian historians, and has made use of public documents for the period and of private papers from the archives of Mérieu. The latter materials, to quote His Eminence Alfred Cardinal Baudrillart, who wrote the preface, "are precisely what constitutes the charm and the value" of this biography. Among the private documents cited are thirty-three letters of de Laubérivière, written before his consecration to his father and mother. Other documents in the archives of Mérieu Castle are reproduced in full in the appendix as *pièces justificatives.*

JEAN DELANGLEZ

The Church Founders of the Northwest: Loras, Cretin and Other Captains of Christ. By M. M. Hoffman. Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1937. Pp. xii+387. $3.

Organized Catholicism in the United States may be an imposing thing to look upon today, but it ought to be a part of the education of every Catholic to be brought to realize the tremendous price that was paid for it. It is the merit of the volume under review that this price, in the way of tireless energy and zeal and almost incredible physical hardships on the part of clerical pioneers and of generous co-operation on the part of the laity, is set before the reader with a vividness of detail that one will hardly find paralleled in any other account of similar scope. Also, one comes to learn here the part which European economic aid played in setting nascent American Catholicism on its feet. The abundant subsidies that flowed into Iowa and Minnesota in frontier days from the three great missionary aid societies of Lyons, Vienna, and Munich made possible the building in those commonwealths of churches and schools which could not have been built with the aid alone of the poverty-stricken diocesans of the day.

The story here told of Catholic beginnings in the Northwest gathers in the main around two ecclesiastical figures of compelling interest, Mathias Loras and Joseph Cretin, first bishops respectively of Dubuque and St. Paul. The historic contribution made by France to the upbuilding of the Church in America is nowhere exemplified with greater emphasis than in the careers of these two admirable prelates. Loras, of aristocratic stock, lost his father in the guillotining madness that swept over France in the days of the Terror. Cretin, of bourgeois origin, first exercised the ministry as vicar and later as pastor of Fernay, the Swiss hamlet that was for long the home of Voltaire and the active center of his vicious propaganda. Drawn by providential turns to the trans-Mississippi West, they there gave themselves, with a devotion that was as single-minded as it was heroic, to the apostolic tasks clamoring on every side to be discharged. What they endured, and that with never-failing equanimity and patience, in bodily want and privation of every sort, whether in meager food or wretched housing or painful journeyings, as they went about on their ministerial rounds, is testimony, if any was needed, to the liveliness of faith and fullness of charity that inspired their memorable activities. Nor are their names the only ones of appeal that enter into the story. Associated with them in their great apostolate were priestly laborers the persistent memory of whom spells missionary zeal and enterprise at their best, among them, Mazzuchelli, Galtier, Ravoux, Belcourt.

It is the recital of the activities in the ministry of prelates and priests of so splendid a type that Father Hoffman has undertaken in this scholarly and well-written volume. The documentation is of a high order. A considerable quantity of unpublished correspondence and other documentary material, chiefly from the archdiocesan archives of Dubuque, has been put to account. Personalities and issues are dealt with honestly and critically and there is no tendency to drop into empty and meaningless panegyric. Sir Sidney Lee thought the essence of biography to be in the "truthful transmission of personality." Surely the personalities of Loras and Cretin are brought before us in these pages with effective realism.

As might be expected in view of the great amount of archival material the author was privileged to utilize, new and revealing light is thrown by him on numerous corners in the pioneer ecclesiastical history of the Northwest. The rather enigmatic relations between Bishop Loras and the Dominican, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, the friction that developed between the ardent prelate and many of his clergy, the opposition he had to contend with from certain groups among the laity,—all is told with candor and adherence to the facts. One remarkable circumstance to the credit of Loras is told with convincing detail (p. 352 *et seq.*). He was, it would appear, the originator of the idea of attracting the newly arriving Catholic immigrants from Europe to the prairie states of the Northwest, an idea which unfortunately was discouraged in the East to the no small permanent injury to the Church beyond the Mississippi.

All in all, Father Hoffman has made a notable contribution to the written history of the Catholic Church in the United States. The book will be read for the wealth of information and edification, not to say sheer enjoyment, to be found within its covers.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

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An Historical Review

APRIL, 1938

VOLUME 20 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 9 NUMBER 2

The Chronicle of Perez de Ribas

About five years ago while working on the history of the Jesuits in New Spain, the writer had frequent occasion to refer particularly to the pages of Father Francisco Javier Alegre's chronological account, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España.*[1] Alegre at times cited Padre Andrés Pérez de Ribas as his authority for statements. This was not startling in view of the prolific writing of Andrés Pérez, who had published his *Historia de los Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fee* in Madrid in 1645, and had prepared a manuscript history of Sinaloa.[2] But a closer inspection of the references revealed that Alegre was making a distinction between these works and another manuscript of Ribas.[3] Definite statements regarding the existence of the manuscript chronicle were made after the time of Alegre by other historians.[4] A search for the original was carried on in California and Mexico, and quite by chance the discovery was made that the manuscript had been printed and bound in a private edition at the Jesuit Press of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Mexico City in 1896 under its original title, *Corónica y Historia*

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[1] Alegre's three volumes were published in Mexico in 1841 and 1842. He was chronicling the year 1763, when his writing stopped with an unfinished sentence. He was exiled in June, 1767, with the other Jesuits and went to Italy, but later returned to his native Mexico for pastoral work as a diocesan priest in Puebla.

[2] Peter M. Dunne, "The Literature of the Jesuits of New Spain," *The Catholic Historical Review,* XX (October, 1934), 254.

[3] Alegre, II, 109, 152.

[4] José Mariano Beristain y Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional,* Mexico, 1821, III, 28-29; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas,* San Francisco, 1886, I, 236, does not mention the title of the chronicle history; Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Campagnie de Jésus,* Paris, 1895, VI, 526, mentions it as defective and in the possession of Dr. José María de Agreda y Sánchez of Mexico; Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España,* Madrid, 1913, IV, describes the printed work, but says it was from the only existing defective manuscript; Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en Mexico,* El Paso, Texas, 1928, in Volumes II and III, cites the work *passim.*

de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de Mexico en Nueva España.

From the few words of introduction in the printed volumes, however, it is clear that the printing was made from a transcript of the original manuscript, made by different copyists. This copy had been the property of Father Pichardo of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri in Mexico City, but at the time of publication it was owned by a lady who graciously turned it over to the anonymous editor. The editor, probably a Jesuit, encountered no end of trouble in his work. His tribulations revolved around words omitted by the copyists, truncated Latin texts from Scripture, and an anarchy of punctuation, capitalization, and paragraphing. His task was excellently achieved, and although the type employed was not the best, he could rest satisfied that a monumental writing had been preserved. Little did he suspect that the entire manuscript was in existence. His lament was expressed over the omission by the copyists of certain chapters of the original, but because the table of contents was intact, he was able to indicate the missing parts by asterisks in the published work.

The discovery of the printed *Corónica* was quite a boon, yet there remained annoying questions. Where is the original? Where are the missing parts? Are there other copies? The happy solution of the problem was revealed when the Newberry Library published *A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection.*[5] The manuscript in the vaults, listed as number 1196, is a copy of the Ribas Corónica, and this copy was taken from the original, to all appearances, which is in the Library of Congress.[6] Thus ends a long search.

A likely reason why the original manuscript was deemed sufficiently valuable for acquisition by the Library of Congress is amply set forth in a descriptive letter of recommendation, which, as it will in all probability never be printed elsewhere, is hereafter presented, not for the purpose of exposing the amusing and inaccurate account of the position of the Jesuits in relation to the Spanish government, but rather to show the sincerity and enthusiasm exhibited by a manuscript copyist for a great documentary find. The writer, as will be explained later, was a certain L. F. Tasistro.

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[5] Compiled by Ruth Lapham Butler, Chicago, 1937.

[6] *Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress,* Washington, 1918, 261, lists the Corónica under Transcripts, and mentions in the following item a Force transcript of the same. Reason for terming the Library of Congress manuscript the original will appear at the end of this article.

In the whole range of historical information whether published or in manuscript, it is doubtful whether a more deeply interesting or a more intensely valuable work can be found than this extraordinary narrative of the first introduction of Jesuitical Colleges on this Continent and the wonderful influence they exercised in imparting to the popular mind of New Spain that aversion for free institutions which renders their republican system so defective and imperfect even to the present day. It is not only, what it ostensibly professes to be a religious history of the Company of Jesus, from the first landing of the primitive Fathers in Vera Cruz in 1572, down to the time when their influence had extended over every inch of Spanish territory including all the islands of the Pacific, but it is *bona fide* the history of the Spanish colonization of Mexico, and throws more light on the early systems of Legislation in that country and the various processes by which the aborigines of the soil were finally argued into submission, than any of the published accounts with which the art of printing has made us acquainted. For although New Spain was settled 50 years before the foundation of the Society of Jesus by Loyola, yet the mind of the colonists never received any salutary or progressive impulses until the emissaries of the Sacred College at Rome had preached their fascinating doctrine among them and set the spring of popular instruction in motion. From these Chronicles which are extremely well written and admirably well preserved, and which contain besides the historical matter many exquisite biographies of the most learned and most useful men of that period, we learn all that is most important for us to know in regard to the peculiar agencies that were employed in keeping the element of political ameliorations within specified bounds. Anticipating no doubt, that the isolated position of these colonies would naturally lead men to speculate freely on the destinies of the human races, the Government of Spain thought it advisable to apply preservative remedies at once and in order to accomplish that object, it not only sought to enlist the energies of those splendid religious enthusiasts, who had astounded the Christian world by their piety, devotion, and learning, but actually placed the affairs of government almost entirely under their control by the bestowal of the most extravagant privileges, so that in very short time they became *de facto* the supreme rulers of the land. The national education was entrusted to their care, and this authority was acknowledged by both the Statesmen and the Military leaders as the fountainhead from which all laws and enactments must emanate. Among the most important facts to be gathered by a careful perusal of these Chronicles is the ingenuity with which the fathers of the Church managed on all occasions in their writing, in the pulpit, and in the school-room to pervert the sense of certain scriptural passages when their object was to produce testamentary evidence against the monstrous idea of self-government, which they represented as antagonistical of Christian faith and criminally at variance with the obligations of religious and moral law. As their colleges sprung up like enchanted palaces in every province of New Spain, these pernicious doctrines spread like pestilence all over the land until the popular mind became unfit for the reception of liberal ideas

> and the cultivation of elevated sentiments. What is of no less importance in this work, is the perfect truthfulness of spirit in which every part of it was evidently [written] and the reliable nature of its details. Never having been intended for publication, or even for the gaze of vulgar eyes, the authors [sic] wrote without restraint and without reservation and omitted nothing that could in any way elucidate the history of this order [word obscure] the extraordinary and eventful career in Mexico. As a work which may be of immense importance to the Government of the United States here, as containing ample material for a philosophical history, and being diversified with grafic description of every province of Mexico, at the period preceding the arrival of the Jesuits at each point, it is respectfully submitted that a translation of the same be secured or at least that a copy of the original be taken.

The statement that the work was never intended for publication is, like others in the recommendation, erroneous, for Father Andrés Pérez explains in his Prologue how he was commanded under holy obedience to write the history for publication. He has the usual *Protesta* of authors regarding his use of the terms holy and martyr, a Prologue, a dedication, and a description of his authorities, all preludes to publication. Other conclusive proofs of his intention will be forthcoming in the course of this account. What became of the document after the death of the author in 1655, how it got out of the Jesuit house or archive, and why it remained unpublished for upwards of two hundred and forty years, are difficult questions.

A brief description of this frequently discovered manuscript and a comparison of its contents with those of the printed work will reveal its importance. There are 755 leaves in the original manuscript, 1999 pages foolscap in the copy, and 988 pages in the printed work. All three are divided at the same place into two volumes. Each volume is divided into books, five in the first volume and six in the second. The books are divided into chapters of varying numbers, twelve the smallest number and thirty-seven the largest. The chapters total 284; of these 49 out of 134 of the first volume are not in the printed work, and 8 out of 150 of the second volume are omitted. These 57 missing chapters are in the Washington manuscript and Newberry copy. Here and there the printed work lacks paragraphs or pages, but it is pleasing to note for the information of those who may use the *Corónica,* that the chapters, indicated by the asterisks as missing, are intact and available in manuscript, and that what is printed follows the manuscripts closely. The manuscript pages in some few places are corrected, although rarely to such an extent as to cause despair of choosing the author's meaning. Another point of value in the manuscript is the marginal notation of dates, omitted by the printer, and indications of sources wherefrom materials were drawn. Moreover, it contains the interesting Prologue and dedication, and in the last part continues the history of the northern missions to 1644, ten years beyond the point reached in the *Historia de los Triumphos.*

The Prologue is divided into four parts. The first part announces the object and material of the history, and is stated in far briefer terms in the title page, although it must be said in all fairness that the full name of the work on the title page resembles in its turn a prologue. The second part reveals what end and motive the venerable historian had in writing the history, which was to prevent the story of the marvelous works of his predecessors from falling into oblivion and to show gratitude to God for the bounty received at His hand. The third part is an account of the authorities and original sources from which Ribas drew his materials; it illuminates somewhat the historical methods of his time, and stamps the author as a man with true historical instincts, even if a reader might not conclude as much from his book. He explored the various house and provincial archives of the Jesuits, verified and checked statements of letter writers and "old timers" against the Cartas Annuas, and gathered background materials from preceding historians and from diocesan repositories. His protestation of truthfulness, backed as it is by his fine character, suffice in a way for the regrettable lack of footnote citation. Again, he was a contemporary of many of the events he records and an eyewitness of not a few happenings between 1602 and 1654. The last part of the Prologue gives the disposition and order of the materials.

Andrés Pérez de Ribas, or Rivas, is perhaps sufficiently well known to students of the history of the early advance of the Spanish colonial empire up the Pacific Slope of North America. Certainly he was so familiar an authority to historians of Pacific Coast history and early seventeenth century mission and frontier history as to be a byword, so familiar that no one has written his eventful biography. His *Triumphs of Our Holy Faith* gives an account of his labors only for a portion of his life. He was born in Córdova, Andalucía, Spain, in 1576, and apparently at an early age began his studies for the priesthood. He was already ordained at the age of twenty-six years, but did not serve long in his diocese, for in 1602 he gained admission to the Society of Jesus. The authorities cited above are almost unanimous in regard to the time of his arrival in America, namely 1602, and the beginning of his novitiate. Yet, Alegre in his pages covering the activities of the Jesuits for the years 1599 and 1600 mentions Andrés Pérez as having residence at the College of Espíritu Santo in Puebla.[7] This large establishment of the Jesuits was a college for secular students, with rooms set apart for novices and tertians of the Society. According to Alegre the fathers were accustomed to sally forth into the surrounding country to instruct the Indians of the villages; Andrés Pérez was one so engaged on these expeditions and laying the foundations of his later apostolic career.

So clear to his superiors were the manifestations of his aptitude for missionary work and organization that he was marked for a great mission. Occasion for sending Andrés Pérez soon presented itself. There were floods and difficulties in the land of the Sinaloas.[8] The military guardian of the frontier territory, the captain at the Presidio of San Felipe, was bandy-legged Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide.[9] With the Jesuit mission under Martín Pérez partly in ruins and with the Indians scattering to the dryer places in the mountains, his work of organizing the outpost was endangered. He consulted with the Viceroy Montesclaros and with the Jesuit Provincial, asking for two additional missionaries. Cristóbal de Villalta and Andrés Pérez de Ribas returned with him at the beginning of 1604. The long journey of three hundred leagues from Mexico City northwest to the infidel lands was made under circumstances which demanded courage of body and soul, and as the years passed, Ribas and his fellow workers exhibited a courageous optimism for the land and people that is beyond our comprehension.

On their arrival in Sinaloa the captain and missionaries were greeted by delegations of the Sinaloas, Tehuecos, Suaquis, and Ahomes, petitioning for resident fathers for their villages. The superior called the missionaries together for appointments, and Ribas was assigned to the Suaquis and the neighboring

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[7] Alegre, I, 376. Alegre apologizes, however, at this point for the lack of names and dates in the manuscript Cartas Annuas and papers he was utilizing. See notes 10 and 12 *infra*. But Alegre, himself may be taken to task for this same defect, and especially for forgetting to mention anything about the last days and death of Ribas.

[8] Alegre, I, 424-427, tells the story more briefly than does Ribas in his *Historia de los Triumphos.*

[9] Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom,* New York, 1936, 14-23, gives a fine description captioned "Northward the Course of Empire," see especially pages 16-17. Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, Chapter IX, treats the period 1600-1650.

Ahomes. For sixteen years he centered his activities at Ahome, living the life of a zealous missionary and later writing the history of these years of evangelization into his *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith* and manuscript History of Sinaloa. In spite of floods, Indian uprisings, martyrdoms of other Jesuits across the mountains, and the obstinacy of the forlorn land, under the protection of Hurdaile, Ribas and his companions carried discipline, Christianity, and a civilized mode of living one step deeper into the barbarian world, and this during the time when Jamestown was assuming definite form as a base for English colonization and Quebec was being established as the firm French foothold.

Father Andrés journeyed to Mexico City several times. Early in 1612 he returned in order to pronounce his solemn vows and thus to become a professed father.[10] In September, 1616, he passed through the Tepehuán country shortly before the great rebellion of that year, on his way to see the viceroy about licenses for instructing the Yaquis.[11] The third time was at the end of the year 1619, when he was relieved of missionary burdens.[12]

As in the case of three other outstanding missionaries before his time, the arduous apostolic life brought to the attention of the Jesuit superiors Ribas' qualities as an administrator and director. Because of his ability he was ultimately to become a provincial, one of the twelve missionary provincials of the Province of New Spain. In their ranks was Father Nicolás Arnaya, reputedly deemed worthy of a number of votes for the office of General of the Society.[13] But since Ribas' appointments to higher offices in Mexico City did not take place for some years after 1620, there is reason to suppose that he was recalled from Sinaloa at the relatively early age of forty-four for other causes. These could not be his want of humility, tact, judgment, integrity, zeal, or obedience. His health, most likely, had much to do with the change, for in a letter of 1622 from the General, Andrés Pérez is listed with other fathers who are to be permitted the use of chocolate in the absence of medicines for their illnesses.[14] And as chocolate was a potion frowned upon by the superiors for years past, it may be supposed that some urgent need got Father Ribas the concession to partake of its medicinal properties. Its effects presumably were beneficial.

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[10] A letter of the General of the Jesuits, Claude Aquaviva, in the Mexican Province Archives, dated Rome, June 23, 1609, to the visitor, Rogrigo de Cabredo, states that Father Andrés Pérez is to be given the profession of four vows after he has been in the Company ten years. In the preface to the printed *Corónica,* the anonymous editor says he made his profession on June 21, 1612. He errs in saying that this act was the beginning of Ribas' missionary life. Alegre, I, 82, tells how Ribas went to Mexico, but mentions no profession. If the orders regarding the time set for his profession, as given in the general's letter cited above, were followed, Ribas entered the Society in 1602.

[11] Alegre, II, 92.

[12] *Ibid.,* II, 123. The date generally given for the completion of Ribas' term in the Yaqui country is 1620. His term ended as superior in 1619 with the appointment of Father Villalta as superior. Ribas wrote a brief, edifying biographical sketch of Villalta in his *Corónica,* Vol. II, Bk. VI, Ch. XXV. The latter, like Ribas apparently, was ordained just prior to his embarkation with twenty-two other Jesuits for America in 1602.

[13] Gerardo Decorme, S. J., La Obra de Los Jesuitas en Mexico durante la Época Colonial, (1930) ms., 359.

If the *Triumphos* cover the life of Ribas to 1620, the *Corónica* describes his interests during the ensuing thirty-five years. He was designated socius, or secretary, to the Provincial, Juan Laurencio, in 1623,[15] and was acting as such during a visitation of all houses and colleges of the Jesuits in 1624.[16] At that time the Viceroy Marqués de Gelves and the Metropolitan Juan Pérez de la Serna were having their notorious tiff in Mexico City. Ribas may well have been socius to the succeeding provincial. During these and the several following years there is no ready evidence to show that he was rector at any of the Jesuit houses, and hence he probably utilized the time, over and above what was required for his office, in composing his many manuscript pages and in performing the pastoral work for which the Professed House was noted. In 1631 no official title or position appears after his name.[17]

Ribas was rector of the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San

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[14] Letter of Mutius Vitelleschi to Augustín de Quiros, Visitador, Rome, August 8, 1622. That Father Andrés needed the chocolate as a remedy and not as a luxury may be deduced from another letter of the same General to Juan Laurencio, Provincial, March 16, 1625, in which the spirit of religious mortification of Father Andrés is commended. The letters of the Generals cited in these pages and the Acts of the Congregations are all in manuscript in the Mexican Province Archives of the Jesuit house at Ysleta, Texas.

[15] Decorme, La Obra, 66. Beristain y Souza, III, 28, has Ribas rector of the Colegio Máximo after his missionary work.

[16] Alegre, II, 152. Father Laurencio is the same who in 1609 went as chaplain with the army that was sent out to rid the country of the insurgent Cimarrons, who had turned highwaymen and were the terrors of the road between Mexico and Vera Cruz. *Ibid.*, II, 10. Ribas gives his life, Vol. II, Bk. VI, Ch. XXV.

[17] Acta Congregationis, November, 1631, ms. Mexican Province Archives, lists him without comment as participating in the provincial congregation, the thirty-first in seniority of the forty oldest professed in the province; the rectors of the Colegio Máximo and of the Casa Profesa are designated.

Pablo during 1635, at which time some new construction work was inaugurated at the college.[18] This rectorship was a very important position, because the college, founded sixty years earlier by the first Jesuits to arrive in New Spain, was the center of all Jesuit educational activity in the widespread province. The arts course then in vogue in similar institutions all over Europe was offered, and the humanities, philosophy, and theology were given for the Jesuit students who were there in training. According to the records Ribas was still presiding over the destinies of the large college in 1637.[19] As his incumbency drew to a close an incident, unique in the annals of Jesuit history, cropped up. The story revolves around a plethora of provincials, Ribas among them, and the mystification of his companions in Mexico and the General at Rome regarding the superiorship.

In the provincial congregation of 1631, Father Florian de Ayerve, former Provincial in New Granada, was elected procurator. He set out for Rome bearing the petitions of the Mexican province Jesuits to the General, one being a repetition of the request that no provincial or rector should hold office for more than three years.[20] The request was granted, and Ayerve returned with the patent of provincial for himself, and with a letter for Father Luis Bonifaz, a missionary of old, and rector of the Casa Profesa. Ayerve's term, beginning in 1632, would in view of the decision be completed in 1635. To the surprise of all concerned, no new appointee appeared on the scene in 1635 nor in 1636, and Ayerve continued in office.[21] Evidently, the General, getting letters from Ayerve, was mystified, and wrote asking why Father Luis Bonifaz had not taken over his duties.[22] A revelation was made. Ayerve had not delivered the letter of appointment to Bonifaz.[23] He justified his action with an explanation of the poor health of the old missionary and a general inability to govern. Bonifaz then began to perform his duties in 1637, although the fact was unknown to the General, who wrote to Ayerve in October, 1637, appointing Father Andrés Pérez, Provincial.[24] It seemed then that there were three provincials, Bonifaz who was so acting, Ayerve who was getting the letters, and Ribas whose appointment was unknown in Mexico. Nor did Ribas wish it to become known. In as much as his old friend Bonifaz had two years more in which to occupy a place held in much esteem, he did not wish to take it over.[25] In the predicament occasioned by two friends charitably bowing each other in and out of office, a provincial consultation was called, and according to its verdict Father Ribas was to have tenure from 1638 to 1641, and Father Bonifaz was to succeed him. So it was done.[26]

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[18] Alegre, II, 202. The present writer made a detailed study of this college, which is incorporated in a work soon to be published on the educational institutions of the Jesuits in New Spain.

[19] Letter of Mutius Vitelleschi to Floriano de Ayerve, October 30, 1637, and Acta Congregationis, November, 1637, both name him as such.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Alegre, II, 205. The binder of the copy of Alegre at hand got the pages confused so that p. 205 follows p. 220.

[22] The letters of Vitelleschi continue to be addressed to Ayerve until 1637.

[23] Alegre, II, 205-206, has a different version, which is incorrect according to Decorme, La Obra, 354-356; the latter had access to materials unavailable to Alegre. Alegre's story is that Bonifaz received the appointment, but out of humility, kept it a secret until the end of 1636, actually intending to keep silence for another year and thus to serve his term of three years without anyone being the wiser.

Ribas was superior of approximately three hundred and eighty members of the Province of New Spain, who, over and above teaching and administering in the sixteen Jesuit colleges then in operation, were laboring in the missions and directing seminaries and parochial affairs. In June of 1641 he turned over the charge to Father Bonifaz,[27] and went to live in his former abode as rector of the Colegio Máximo.[28] In January of 1643 the provincial congregation again elected him procurator to the eighth General Congregation of the Society, and thus he went to Europe and became a participant in the convocation which chose Vincent Carrafa, General of the Order on January 7, 1646.[29] En route to Rome, Ribas visited the Court of Madrid to take care of some affairs not related directly to the main purpose of his journey, but apparently having to do with some petitions from Oaxaca then before the Council of the Indies.[30] While in Madrid he supervised the publication of his history of the missions of Sinaloa.

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[24] Vitelleschi to Ayerve, October 30, 1637.

[25] Alegre, II, 206.

[26] Decorme, La Obra, 356. Shortly after Ribas received his appointment to the provincialate, the provincial congregation elected him as procurator; much curiosity was aroused when he did not depart at the time appointed. Alegre, *loc cit.* Ayerve was severely reprimanded by the General; Letter of Vitelleschi to Ayerve, in Decorme, *loc. cit.* Bancroft, *North Mexican States,* I, 235, makes Ribas provincial in 1620.

[27] Vitelleschi to Juan de Bueras, Visitor, November 30, 1641, mentions this date for the change of office.

[28] Alegre, II, 231, says he became rector in February, 1641, at which time Bonifaz became provincial. See note above.

[29] Ribas, *Corónica,* Introduction.

[30] This business is referred to in a letter of the secretary of the General to Bueras, March 31, 1645.

The new General evidently was pleased with the work, for on April 20, 1646, he dispatched a letter to Bueras expressing his desire for a history of the Province. The Provincial was told to entrust the writing to Andrés Pérez, who had given so much satisfaction and who was best qualified for the undertaking by reason of his life as a missionary and his long years of service as superior. Ribas was to be ordered to begin the work immediately, and superiors of the province were to place at his disposal all facilities for its happy completion.[31] A brother was to be his amanuensis.

Ribas returned to Mexico in September, 1648.[32] It is stated that in this year he became *Prepositus,* or rector, of the Casa Profesa, yet the General through this year and part of the next specifically mentions Father Calderón as holding this position. Ribas assumed the office sometime in 1649,[33] and remained in it until 1651.[34] In this year because of the dispute between Bishop Palafox and the Jesuits, vice-rectors and a vice-provincial were appointed, who held such titles until May of the following year. Ribas it may be supposed was hard at the work of composing his Corónica y Historia and gathering items for the many lives of illustrious Jesuits which ultimately were incorporated in his manuscript volumes. These same lives, written by order of the General,[35] and the Palafox affair as described by Ribas, became great obstacles in 1655 to the printing of the Corónica.

As nearly as can be ascertained, Ribas had completed the major part if not all of his composition in 1653, and, quite contrary to the spirit of the regulations regarding publications, had let it get into the hands of other Jesuits for perusal.[36] The regulation regarding revision and censorship demanded that books written for publication should first pass censorship, and that the author should be unknown to the revisors, and vice-versa.[37] Presumably, this procedure would have been impossible in the case of the well-known historian, venerable now by reason of his seventy-seven years, and famed for his previous writings. A keen interest in the progress of his book was only natural, and knowledge of what he was doing must have been common in view of his visits to archives and interrogations of authorities. The book though unfinished was discussed on all sides, and ultimately by two sides, namely and as usual, by those who thought he had said too much and by those who thought he had not said enough.[38]

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[31] The order was repeated by the next General, Goswin Nickel, to Andrés de Rada, Provincial, in a letter dated June 30, 1651.

[32] Ribas, *Corónica,* Introduction.

[33] Alegre, II, 352.

[34] Goswin Nickel to de Rada, June 30, 1651.

[35] Carrafa to Velasco, April 30, 1648.

[36] Goswin Nickel to the Provincial, January 30, 1654. Parts of the manuscript were even being read in the refectory; the General ordered this stopped until the work was approved.

[37] Carrafa to Velasco, November 30, 1647; in this letter the Provincial was told to submit the manuscript, Aprecio de la Gloria, written by Andrés Pérez, to revisors unknown to the author.

The General had advices on the matter and was under the impression that Ribas did not have the entire truth of the Palafox incident, the narration of which constituted a substantial part of the history. Under the circumstances he did not wish to give the license for printing until further examination could be made, and his opinion was backed by the report of the revisors in Mexico.[39] In order to make the book as truthful as possible he wished it to be sent to Spain, where it would be revised by the Provincial of the Toledo Province. More instructions arrived later in 1655. The revised work was to be sent to the Toledo Provincial, who likewise would add his corrections and return the manuscript to the revisors in Mexico. When the errors would have been corrected full approval would be forthcoming.[40] The manuscript made the journey and was returned to the colonial revisors.[41] But in the meantime Father Andrés Pérez rested in the Lord on March 26, 1655, at the age of seventy-nine.

It would perhaps be wrong to say the results of Ribas' last labors were not published because of inaccuracies or because of lack of interest on the part of the final revisors in whose care the volumes had been placed. An excellent reason why the printing was not done might well have been the want of financial means, for the houses and colleges of the Company were burdened with debts, as the letters of the superiors reveal. After all, there were errors in his preceding *Historia de los Triumphos,* which did not militate against its publication.[42] Neither the diffuse style, nor disposition of materials, nor the inclusion of the edifying lives and pious observations would have been bars in those times to printing the manuscript. No one would have quarreled with the topographical approach employed, and in all probability there would have been no objections to the descriptions of processions, solemnities, and marvelous happenings dotting the work.[43] In fact, even now some of those "exquisite biographies," have real value and colorfulness. One, written with no eye at all to the magnificent array of historical facts which must have accumulated during such a span of years, records the virtues of Brother Pedro Nieto who passed on to his reward at the goodly age of one hundred and thirty-two years.[44]

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[38] Goswin Nickel to the Provincial, January 30, 1654.

[39] Goswin Nickel to the Provincial, January 24, 1655.

[40] Response of Goswin Nickel to petitions of the provincial congregation, made October 9, 1655.

[41] Goswin Nickel to Juan Real, Provincial, January 30, 1656. The General repeated the instructions regarding revision and censorship, and stated that as soon as the marked places were corrected license for publication was granted.

[42] Bancroft, *op. cit.,* 235, mentions the errors, the clumsy plan, and diffuse style of the *Triumphos.*

Ribas was the first Jesuit to attempt a general history of the Province of New Spain, as he states. One other chronicle was begun in 1572 by Juan Sánchez, a scholastic among the first fathers to arrive in Mexico City, but this remains in manuscript, valuable though it is. After Ribas, Father Francisco de Florencia projected an elaborate set of volumes on the same theme, yet he succeeded in producing one volume of his *Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España,* in 1694.[45] Florencia entered the Society of Jesus in 1642, when Ribas was rector at the Colegio Máximo, and in writing his work in the years preceding 1694, he utilized a manuscript Corónica. Alegre, the last to attempt a general history, having the manuscript at his disposal, at times cited and at other times took issue with statements.

Is the manuscript in the Library of Congress the original Ribas Corónica? In seeking the answer to this question the writer has become deeply indebted to Miss Stella R. Clemence for items of information which make possible some solution.[46]

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[43] Astrain, *Historia,* IV, xvii, has a curt criticism of the style and content.

[44] Nieto was born in the Asturias. Inspired by the deeds of Cortés, he joined up with the militia of the Indies at an early age and sailed at a later time for Florida with Pedro Menéndez. Afterwards he arrived in New Spain, came into contact with the Jesuit brothers working on a farm, and in spite of his 78 years was admitted to the Society. He made his novitiate and was sent to direct labor on the farm. After he had passed his one hundredth birthday, superiors thought he was getting old for such work. He was made porter at the Jesuit College of San Ildefonso. There he remained for the next thirty years, celebrated his golden jubilee as a Jesuit, and died some years later in 1637. His memory, vision, and hearing remained good until the end. Curious persons were wont to ask him when he was born, just to hear him answer: "In the year 200." Local investigators, summing up remarks made occasionally about his voyages, set his birthday back to the year 1505. Ribas always found him happy when he visited the college.

[45] For a good account of this, see J. Manuel Espinosa, "Francisco de Florencia, S. J., 1619-1695: Our First Native-Born Priest," in *The Historical Bulletin,* St. Louis University, XIII (May, 1935), 65.

At least four, and possibly five manuscripts come under scrutiny: (1) The two-volume manuscript in folio in the Library of Congress; (2) A 160-page transcript of the first 39 folios of the above; (3) The complete transcript in the Newberry Library; (4) The copy from which the printing of the *Corónica* was done in Mexico; (5) The manuscript from which the last named deficient copy was made. What happened apparently was this: L. F. Tasistro saw the first manuscript, recommended that it be copied, and was employed by Peter Force to make the transcript.[47] He finished 160 pages; Mr. Force then obtained the whole manuscript; both items, according to Miss Clemence, "were in the collections of Peter Force, whose extensive library was purchased by the Library of Congress in 1867." The third, in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library, was certified as a copy of the original manuscript in the Library of Congress by Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick on December 29, 1900.[48] The fourth has been described in earlier pages as being in the possession of a lady in Mexico at the time the *Corónica* was printed; obviously it was copied before 1896. The fifth is a possible original. Miss Clemence supplies the following data from the files of the Division of Manuscripts

> furnished by Dr. Charles Warren Currier, Bishop of Matanza, who examined our manuscript in 1910 and noted that a similar one was mentioned in Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque,* as being in the library of Dr. Sánchez y Agreda of Mexico. He investigated the matter and furnished us with a copy of a letter written to him by Francisco Losa, who said that Sr. Don José Maria de Agreda y Sánchez was at that time sub-director of the National Library of Mexico and informed him that he "still owned the manuscript; that Father Gerste requested permission to copy it, but could not do it, on account of his departure for Europe," and that "some time after, Father Laureano Veres copied it on the recommendation of Father Gerste, and

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[46] Miss Clemence is editor of the Spanish materials in the Division of Manuscripts. A letter of inquiry was addressed by the present writer to the acting chief of the Division, Dr. Thomas P. Martin, who asked Miss Clemence to investigate the matter and then kindly relayed her findings.

[47] Miss Clemence says this "was copied for Mr. Force by a certain L. F. Tasistro, according to two receipts for twenty dollars each, dated respectively, Washington, Dec. 26, 1849, and Feb. 2, 1850, which are bound in with the manuscript. There is also a loose double folio, in the hand of the copyist Tasistro. . . . It begins 'In the whole range of historical . . .' and ends 'or at least that a copy of the original may be taken.' "

[48] Miss Clemence says: "Dr. Fitzpatrick tells me that the man who made the Newberry transcript was a Puerto Rican, whose name he cannot recall, but who was a careful and conscientious worker."

that copy served for the edition given out by the Jesuits of Mexico in two volumes in 1896."

Whether the printed *Corónica* was done from a copy made by Father Veres, or from one owned by a lady, as the editor explained,[49] makes little difference, for in either case the editor did not have some portions known to have been in the original. The point is that he would not in all probability have undertaken a large printing assignment and this from a deficient and difficult manuscript, if a complete manuscript or transcript was known and available to him. Therefore, until the manuscript said to be in the possession of Dr. Agreda y Sánchez comes to light, there is nothing more to say on the subject. It may prove an original, on a par with that in the Library of Congress, since quite possibly two or more copies were made by the amanuenses in the time of Ribas for the convenience of the revisors. On the other hand, it may be a truncated copy, similar to the others just discussed.

The elimination process leaves only the manuscript in the Library of Congress. Used by Florencia before 1694, by Alegre before 1767, and discovered in its present condition before 1849 by Tasistro, it was bought as an ancient document by Mr. Force before 1867, and recognized as an original by Dr. Fitzpatrick in 1900. To quote our recent informant, it "is in the original leather bindings and is on paper with an early seventeenth-century water-mark . . . , written in several hands. . . . There are but few corrections. . . . But in a few places . . . there are many and important changes in the text. These sections with many text changes are all in the same hand, and in this same hand are written the second half of the title page . . . and many marginal notes. . . ." This is in accord with what might be expected in view of the work of revisors, of the Provincial of the Toledo Province, of Ribas, and of the amanuenses. Furthermore, the style and content bear marks of contemporaneousness. It may be possible in the near future to get samples of Ribas' handwriting in his later days for comparison with that in the manuscript and thus settle a number of minor details of textual criticism.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

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[49] Ribas, *Corónica,* Introduction.

Donato Gasparri, New Mexico-Colorado Mission Founder

The Mexican War, which ended in 1848, resulted in the transfer of a huge portion of the Spanish Southwest from Mexico to the United States. A great number of the people inhabiting the region were of the Catholic Faith, and consequently the affairs of religion had to be adjusted to the new régime. The episcopal leaders of the Church deemed it best to place the ecclesiastical administration under the American flag, and after due deliberation made an appeal to Rome. At the request of the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore, propaganda erected the Vicariate of New Mexico, and John Baptist Lamy was appointed first Vicar Apostolic of the area. He arrived in his headquarters in Santa Fé on August 8, 1851, and immediately set about organizing his vicariate. At first there was some difficulty with the Bishop of Durango, Mexico, to whose jurisdiction New Mexico had previously belonged, and with the local clergy concerning matters pertinent to the transfer of authority.[1] The settlement was ultimately brought about by Bishop Lamy after a fifteen hundred mile journey to Durango.

Father Joseph Projectus Machebeuf, later first Bishop of Denver, accompanied the Right Reverend Vicar Apostolic to New Mexico, and when Lamy became Bishop of the Diocese of Santa Fé in 1853, he served as his vicar general. Father Machebeuf has left a vivid description of the conditions which the new Bishop had to face at the beginning of his incumbency.

> This is a country of ancient Catholicity, but, alas, how times have changed! Instead of that piety and practical religion which marked the days of the Missions, we have now but the forms and the exterior of religion. The people are all very exact in their attendance at the church services, they

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[1] When Durango was made a bishopric in 1620, it included the territory of the present states of Durango, Chihuahua, Sonora, and New Mexico. The last named three had a mission status. Through the following centuries the Bishop of Durango claimed jurisdiction over New Mexico, though the Franciscans were in charge. In the last years of the Spanish colonial rule, they were acting as parish priests, receiving some salary from the government, yet the Bishop of Durango had established his vicar in New Mexico. Under Mexican republican rule after 1821, there was a continued decline in missionary and parochial activities. H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico,* San Francisco, 1889, 269-273, gives a number of source references and a dark picture of the religious life in New Mexico for the years 1750-1800, and later mentions the continued decline for the years 1800-1821, *ibid.,* 306-307.

> observe all the feasts and keep up their confraternities and societies, but the reception of the sacraments is sadly neglected where it is not entirely abandoned. In a population of 70,000, including the converted Indians, there are but fifteen priests, and six of these are worn out by age and have no energy. The others have not a spark of zeal, and their lives are scandalous beyond description. It is plainly evident that Bishop Lamy will need to exercise the greatest prudence, as well as zeal and devotedness, in the government of such a diocese.
>
> The people in general show the best dispositions. They have the docility of children towards the priest, and if the few remaining Mexican priests who have still the force of youth in them, were animated with any good intentions, it would be the easiest thing in the world to bring these people back to the practice of their religion. But, alas! the great obstacle to the good which the Bishop is disposed to do among them, does not come from the people but from the priests themselves, who do not want the Bishop, for they dread a reform in their morals, or a change in their selfish relations with their parishioners. One of the great neglects of the priests of New Mexico is that they seldom or never preach. But how could such priests preach?[2]

There were two solutions to the Bishop's problem. He might either form a new native clergy, or he might go in search of missionaries. The first solution was impossible under the existing conditions in New Mexico. A few months after he arrived in Santa Fé he wrote to Father DeSmet at St. Louis asking him to send some Jesuits.[3] But the Jesuits in St. Louis could not spare even one man. The Bishop, as is rather well known, succeeded in obtaining a number of secular priests from France, mostly from his home province of Auvergne. One of his greatest difficulties was the lack of schools. To solve this difficulty he opened a school for boys in his own house about 1852. The Sisters of Loretto came that same year to open a school for girls. They were followed a few years later by the Christian Brothers and the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati.

The priests from Auvergne were doing splendid work as pastors, and the religious were conducting schools for the children in a sufficiently satisfactory manner. But, as time went on and improvements continued under his vigilant eye, he became concerned with the progress of the superstructure of his diocese. The problems of the frontier were bound up with those of the beginnings of civic life. He was desirous of having if possible a group of religious who could conduct missions, administer parishes, found a college, and eventually open a seminary for the training of the local clergy. With such projects in mind he bent his efforts toward obtaining some Jesuits. He dispatched a letter to the Jesuit headquarters at Rome, asking that New Mexico be assigned as a mission area to some province of the Society of Jesus. He succeeded in obtaining a loan of two Jesuits from the California mission for a few months in 1864,[4] but they came with the understanding that they were to stay only for a short time. Finally, when in Rome in 1866, Bishop Lamy personally requested Father Peter Beckx, General of the Society of Jesus, to give him some missionaries.[5]

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[2] W. J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Maçhebeuf,* Pueblo, Colorado, 1908, 164-165.

[3] Letter of Father P. DeSmet, dated St. Louis University, February 6, 1853, *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi,* Lyon, France, 1853, 322.

The members of the Province of Naples, it so happened, had been driven into exile by Garibaldi in 1860, and were looking for a foreign mission. At first there was some hesitancy about accepting a mission in the "wild and woolly west" of the United States, but when ordered to take over the work, Father Francis Ferrante, Provincial of the Neapolitan Province, immediately began looking for men capable of founding the new mission.

Father Donato Maria Gasparri, who was preaching at Valencia, and Father Rafael Bianchi, professor of philosophy at Tortosa, Spain, were chosen for the task, along with two lay brothers, Prisco Caso and Rafael Vezza. In New York they were joined by Father Livio Vigilante, who had been teaching at Holy Cross College. Father Vigilante, the only member of the group who could speak English, had been appointed first superior. After an eventful trip across the plains they arrived in Santa Fé August 15, 1867.[6] On August 20, Fathers Gasparri and Bianchi with the two lay brothers arrived in Bernalillo to found the first Jesuit mission in New Mexico.[7]

Despite the lack of laborers and the fact that the missionaries were forced to learn two new languages and an entirely new mode of life, the work progressed. Men from noble families and the best schools of Italy came to join them and share the frijoles of the Mexican peon and the rough life of the mining camp. Professors of philosophy and theology taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Traveling by wagon, on horseback, and on foot these men carried the word of God from Old Mexico to Montana, to California, to the plains of Kansas, and into western Texas. Their *Revista Catolica,* established and published regularly, filled the need of a Catholic press in the Southwest. The parochial schools and colleges of the Jesuits played a major part in Catholic education. Their mission and parish work formed a large portion of the life blood of the dioceses of Santa Fé, Tucson, and Denver.

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[4] Letter of Bishop Lamy, Santa Fé, August 25, 1866, in *ibid.*, July, 1867.

[5] F. M. Troianek, Historia Societatis Jesu in Novo Mexico et Colorado, manuscript, n. d., 140 pages, in Regis College Archives, Denver, p. vii. This remarkable manuscript history was written in Latin by Father Troianek, S. J., who was born in Irkutsk, Siberia, and became a member of the New Orleans Province of the Jesuits, which took over the Neapolitan missions as explained *infra*. He was known until his death as Father Troy.

[6] Father Gasparri's account of the journey was found in the archives of San Felipe Church, Old Albuquerque; it was translated and edited by Doctor Espinosa, and published in MID-AMERICA, XX (January, 1938), 51-62.

[7] Troianek, 16-18.

Father Gasparri was not the first superior of the New Mexico-Colorado Mission of the Neapolitan Province, but succeeded to that post after the return east of Father Vigilante. Nevertheless, it was Father Gasparri who was the true founder of the mission. He occupied the post of superior from 1868 until 1876, and until his death in 1882 he was looked upon as the leading spirit of the mission.

Donato Maria Gasparri was born in Biccario, Italy, April 26, 1834, and was educated in the College of Salerno, under the direction of the Society of Jesus. He entered the Society at the age of sixteen years. The usual course of studies was interrupted by Garibaldi in 1860, and he was forced to finish his theology at the College of Laval in France. From there he went to Manresa, Spain, to make his tertianship. The order to go to New Mexico found him acting in the capacity of preacher in Valencia. Bishop Lamy's first appointment for his new missioners was the conduct of missions throughout his diocese. To Father Gasparri, the most eloquent of the group, fell the task of giving the mission that ended the famous Taos schism.[8]

Before they had left Europe, Fathers Gasparri and Bianchi had collected some money to establish a mission among the Indians, but when they arrived in New Mexico they found that their work was to be among the Spanish speaking natives. What should they do with the money? Father Gasparri decided upon an attempt to open a mission among the Navajo. After overcoming many difficulties with the local authorities he was forced to abandon his plan because he could not obtain transportation.[9] He did, however, attend a mission chapel for the Indians at the Pueblo of Sandia. He promptly gave it up when he found to his fear and sorrow that the Indians had been keeping a live rattlesnake under the altar for purposes of idolatrous veneration.[10]

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[8] *Ibid.,* 27-28.

[9] *Ibid.,* 32-36.

Father Gasparri soon realized that if his small number of missionaries were to compete with the increasing number of Protestant ministers, he must obtain some new means of spreading their work more widely and effectively. He decided to establish a Catholic press in New Mexico. With the help he received from Bishop Lamy and with the donations of some of the diocesan clergy he was able to bring to New Mexico the first power press to be set up there. In January the first issue of the *Revista Catolica* made its appearance. It was to be a Spanish weekly containing news items, editorials, sermons, and "moral stories." Since 1875 the *Revista Catolica* has never ceased to be a champion of the Church in the Southwest. In addition to the *Revista Catholica* Gasparri's press has printed a number of books and pamphlets varying from grade school textbooks to a Spanish translation of the Bible. Father Gasparri was first editor of the review, and it was as such that he merited his nickname of "the Walking Encyclopedia." When the Neapolitan mission was disbanded in 1919, members of the New Orleans Province continued the publication.

One of the principal reasons Bishop Lamy had for obtaining Jesuits was the hope that they would open a college and seminary in New Mexico to train a native clergy. Father Gasparri's first attempt resulted in the dismal failure of Holy Family College, Albuquerque.[11] Nothing daunted, he was one of the most enthusiastic backers of those wishing a college at Las Vegas a few years later. This time he was successful. During the erection of the building at Las Vegas he was architect, contractor, bricklayer, and carpenter.

His life was eventful in many ways. When "los Americanos" began to arrive in the Southwest it was Father Gasparri who rode from door to door warning the natives against the land sharks and helping those who would not heed his warning.[12] One time he rode ninety miles across the prairies in an open buggy in order to prevent the marriage of a Catholic girl and a man who, he knew, already had a wife in the old country.[13] Sister

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[10] "Bourke on the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review,* XI (1936), 267-268.

[11] This school was dignified by the name of a "collegium inchoatum," but the pupils never advanced beyond their a b c's and the school was turned over to the Sisters of Charity in 1885.

[12] Sister Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fé Trail,* Columbus, Ohio, 1932, 235.

[13] *Ibid.,* 234.

Blandina relates another incident that is typical of the means he would use to protect his flock:

> . . . Father Gasparri was notified that one of the girls of his parish had just been enticed into a house of questionable virtue. The moment he heard it, keeping on his soutane and biretta, he walked quickly to the house. The mistress answered the door. She was alarmed when she saw the priest at the door, and was frightened when he said: "I demand Miss ———, who has just been brought here!"
>
> A man stepped out to answer his demand. "I am the one who brought the girl here, because she wanted to come. If you make any more fuss about it, I'll shoot you."
>
> "You may shoot, but while I breathe I demand that innocent girl."
>
> Quickly the man drew out his revolver. Just as quickly the girl sprang between the priest and the man.
>
> "Black Gown, you win!" snarled the villain.[14]

Fearless, untiring, a man of the hour, Father Gasparri continued to write, preach, build. In 1880 he began the erection of a church for the English speaking Catholics in Albuquerque. In the fall of 1882 he was invited to preach for the feast of the Immaculate Conception in Chihuahua, Mexico, but was unable to go. He suffered an apoplectic stroke a few days later and died December 18, 1882. During the time he was delirious prior to his death he gave the sermon he had planned to preach in the Cathedral in Chihuahua. At the time of his death he was only forty-eight years old.

A Protestant, speaking of him after his death, said: "He soared above the best intellects; the peer of orators; the protector of innocence; the father of all the distressed; one who made himself all to all."[15] "Let us begin, God will provide," was his motto through life. He saw the New Mexico-Colorado mission through its most trying years and left it firmly established.

A rapid glance over the work of the mission will give some slight idea of the importance it played in the Southwest. The first Jesuit parish was Bernalillo, but this was abandoned for San Felipe, Old Albuquerque, in 1868. In 1871 the San Luis Valley in Southern Colorado was placed under the care of the mission, and the Jesuit church at Del Norte was the first church consecrated in Colorado (1899). Father Pinto, S. J., was the first priest in republican times to take up residence in Pueblo, Colorado, where he arrived in 1872. In 1875 the Jesuits were given Trinidad, with the whole of Las Animas county as their parish. Father Guida founded Sacred Heart parish, Denver, in the fall of 1879. In 1883 the mission erected its first church in El Paso, Texas. In 1884 Father Schiffini began the erection of Immaculate Conception Church in East Las Vegas. The Jesuits conducted Las Vegas College, 1877-1888, and Sacred Heart College, Morrison, from 1884 to 1888. In 1888 these two schools were combined into Sacred Heart College, Denver (the present Regis College). The *Catalogus Provinciae Napolitanae* for 1919 gives the following statistics regarding the New Mexico-Colorado mission. There were belonging to the mission: one bishop (Bishop Schuler of El Paso), seventy-six priests, forty-three scholastics, and thirty-eight brothers. In Albuquerque the Jesuits had four parishes; in the San Luis Valley two parishes; in Denver two parishes, and Sacred Heart College; in Pueblo, Colorado, three parishes; the parish of Trinidad which included all the mission stations in Las Animas County; in El Paso seven parishes; and residences in Socorro and Ysleta, Texas.

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[14] *Ibid.,* 234-235.

[15] *Ibid.,* 252.

The members of the mission had erected fourteen parochial and fifty mission churches. In giving missions they had visited every parish and mission station in Southern Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, in most of Southern California, and the northern states of Mexico. Each year they gave an average of forty retreats or triduums for the spiritual betterment of the people.

The New Mexico-Colorado mission was disbanded on August 15, 1919, thus bringing to a close one of the most interesting and romantic chapters of Jesuit mission endeavor in the United States. No history of the entire mission has been written. Nor will it be an easy task to write one. Essential documents are scattered from El Paso to Denver and are written in five languages. Then, too, the amount of work and the vast territory covered are enough to discourage any individual effort. The work of the late Fathers Troianek (Troy) of Albuquerque and Tommasini of Denver has facilitated matters a little, but there remains much to be done. Like many missionaries of the early days, the fathers of the Neapolitan Province were too busy with pastoral cares to write what would be welcome documents.

EDWARD R. VOLLMAR

William Howlett, Pioneer Missionary and Historian

II. CHAPLAIN AT LORETTO AND HISTORIAN

A kind Providence directed Father Howlett's last years in a manner singularly agreeable to the inclinations and talents of the veteran missionary. Born in New York State in 1847, he passed into manhood in pioneer Michigan, acquired his first lessons in the clerical life in Kentucky, and devoted the most vigorous years of his priesthood to the ministry in Colorado from 1877 to 1915. His life was an active one, which witnessed and was a part of rapid and profound mutations in the economic and social milieu of the Rocky Mountain country. But his concern with the cares of the present did not render him indifferent to the accomplishments of other days. He lived beyond most of his generation, and his memory cherished much that others had failed to appreciate as likely to be of interest to posterity. He had a tender regard for the days that were passed and for the friends that had gone before.

To one of such a temperament the Loretto Mother House possessed a very definite significance. The land whereon it is build was originally acquired for the service of religion by Father Stephen Theodore Badin, the first priest ordained in the United States, and one of the most colorful of frontier ecclesiastics. Known as Saint Stephen's, it long served as the residence of Fathers Badin and Nerinckx. To it, in 1811, came Kentucky's pioneer bishop, Benedict Joseph Flaget. On the same grounds Bishop Flaget inaugurated the West's first ecclesiastical seminary for candidates for the secular priesthood. Less than a hundred yards from the chaplain's residence nestles the small brick cottage built by Father Badin to serve as a shelter for rest and meditation in the intervals between his missionary journeys. In the convent cemetery repose the remains of Father Nerinckx, of a number of the pioneer clergy of Kentucky, and of the founders and early members of the Loretto Society. Within a radius of a few miles are located many of the most venerable spots in the history of the Church in Kentucky—Holy Cross, Saint Charles, Saint Rose's, Saint Mary's, Gethsemani, Nazareth, Bardstown. Father Howlett was bound to Loretto by many ties, personal and spiritual. To spend what remained to him of strength and service in promoting the welfare of this pioneer American sisterhood he deemed a privilege.

No one who knew Father Howlett in his last years can doubt that he was happy to close his long and laborious life amid these surroundings. Until increasing infirmities compelled him to relinquish many of his duties to an assistant, he entered actively and whole-heartedly into the life and activities of the Mother House. The aged religious, retired from active service, the novices, receiving their training in the religious life, and the members of the community, engaged in the manifold duties of government and direction, were equally the subjects of his solicitude and his care. Long before death claimed him he had become a very real part of Loretto. His own life was characterized by genuine and persevering loyalties. His loyalty to Loretto—to its welfare and its traditions—will not readily be forgotten by those who came under his intelligent and sympathetic direction. It was singularly fitting that one of the last of our frontier missionaries should spend the last years of his life, 1913 until the dawn of 1936, ministering to a religious community which has given so much to the promotion of religion on the American frontier.

Father Howlett's death marked the passing of almost the last of the line of kindred spirits who from the earliest days of missionary activity in the western country became the recorders as well as the makers of history. His literary work was largely incidental to his more active ministry in behalf of souls. Most of it was carried on during hours snatched from more pressing labors. Moreover, while he had access, in the case of some of his projects, to large blocks of documentary material, he was rarely in a position to undertake the extended research for supplementary sources which would have further enriched his writings. Even in the case of his best known and perhaps most ambitious project, the *Life and Times of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D.,* he was not able to obtain access to existing material, much as it would have enhanced the value of the volume.

The greater part of Father Howlett's historical studies are concerned with the history of Catholic life in Kentucky. And in this sector of American Catholic historiography future scholars will probably discern in his work characteristics of the older group of writers who gathered up the crumbs of Catholic history from the pioneers, and of the more recent authors who have brought to their work all the resources of modern critical scholarship. To the former group belong Kentucky's first permanent priests—Stephen Theodore Badin and Charles Nerinckx, Archbishop Martin John Spalding, and B. J. Webb. In the latter category must be placed Father Victor O'Daniel, Sister Columba Fox, and Sister Ramona Mattingly.

An insight into the motives governing some of his Kentucky studies may be gained from what he relates in his "Recollections" concerning the circumstances attending the writing of his volume on Saint Thomas' Seminary.

> It was my first visit since my seminary days, and it was a saddening visit. The grounds were there, the church was there, the log residence of Bishop Flaget was there, but not a sign of the seminary buildings remained except the excavation where our basement refectory once was. The grounds were strewn with logs, the church was in bad repair, and the whole had a delapidated and neglected appearance. I wrote a letter on the condition of the place to the *Record* of Louisville and that letter did more than I anticipated. It aroused the spirit of the priests of Kentucky to the importance of preserving the ancient landmarks of their faith, and refreshing the memory of the present generation to the glories of the past. . . . The result was my book on the history of Saint Thomas' Seminary.[1]

But Father Howlett did not profess to offer a definitive and detailed history of the pioneer institution. In his preface to the volume he writes:

> While securing historical permanence to the course of the oldest Seminary in the West, my intention has been rather to give definite form to the many expressions of affection and reverence for the old *Alma Mater* and those connected with it, to embody the general feelings of all old St. Thomas' students and to indicate the reasons for the universal good will.
>
> To do this I have taken the more important incidents connected with the establishment of the Seminary, its internal working, and the special and lasting results that trace their causes to it. Minor matters of detail I have used to show the connection between the greater events and the unity of spirit and action that ran through the whole course of its existence.

Father Howlett's *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx,*[2] was undertaken at the request of the Sisters of Loretto. The story of their founder's life and labors had already been written by Father, afterwards Bishop, Camillus P. Maes, but this work had long been out of print. Bishop Maes' work, moreover, was cumbersome in construction and was open to very definite objections from an historical standpoint. Finally, the discovery of new and pertinent source material made the preparation of a new life desirable. Father Howlett began the preparation of this work soon after assuming the chaplaincy at Loretto and saw it through the press in 1915.

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[1] *Historical Tribute to St. Thomas Seminary at Poplar Neck Near Bardstown, Kentucky,* St. Louis, 1906.

[2] *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx, Pioneer Missionary of Kentucky and Founder of the Sisters of Loretto,* Techny, Illinois, 1915.

But it was as the biographer of the Rt. Rev. Joseph P. Machebeuf, first Bishop of Denver, that Father Howlett's fame went furthest. Among the priest-historians of the Rocky Mountain country only Father J. Defouri and Archbishop John B. Salpointe preceded him in committing to print accounts of their pioneer co-workers in the ministry in these parts. Years before Father Howlett had advised Sister Philomena, the sister of Bishop Machebeuf, to preserve the bishop's letters to his family in France as sources for a possible future account of Colorado's first bishop. These letters constituted the chief documentary source for Father Howlett's volume.

> It was while at Colorado City that I thought to devote my leisure time to writing. I had not forgotten what Bishop Machebeuf's sister had told me of his letters to her, and I thought I might use them to good purpose. A sketch of Bishop Machebeuf had been written after his death, but no attempt had been made to give anything like a full record of his busy life. I wrote to Sister Philomena and received from her copies of his entire correspondence with his family during the fifty years he had been in America.

Such in a few words is the story of the inception of *The Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D.,*[3] which entered so largely into the writing of *Death Comes for the Archbishop.*[4] It was gratifying to the venerable author in the last months of his life to learn of the new interest being taken in this work by scholars of the universities and historical societies of the West.

After the publication of his account of Father Nerinckx, Father Howlett's contributions to the history of the Church in the West took the form of shorter accounts of persons and institutions. A number of these found publication in periodicals and historical reviews.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR

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[3] *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D.,* Pueblo, Colorado, 1908.

[4] See *The Commonweal,* November 23, 1927.

DOCUMENTS

The Founding of Missions at La Junta de los Rios

INTRODUCTION

The exposition of Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, who accompanied the missionary sons of St. Francis to La Junta de los Rios and to West Texas in 1715, has an importance by reason of the fact that it precedes by one year the Ramón expedition into East Texas. This was the renewal of activities for the foundation and establishment of several missions and pueblos in this region.

The original document, here completely and accurately translated by Reginald C. Reindorp and now published for the first time, may be found in the *Archivo de San Francisco el Grande,* recently discovered by the research scholar, Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda, in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City. No historian has hitherto recorded the expedition. The story of the journey, given below, graphically describes the country traversed and presents in detail the lives and customs of the various Indian tribes that inhabited this area.

This contribution is remarkable, therefore, since it provides new data for the history of that portion of Texas, which has been unwittingly overlooked by all scholars who have written about the Big Bend country.

PAUL J. FOIK

We, Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan Antonio García, Preachers and Missionaries in these new missions of La Junta de los Rios del Norte with the Conchos, of the Holy Province of the Santo Evangelio (Province of the Holy Gospel) of Our Seraphic Father St. Francis of the City of Mexico, certify and relate how Sergeant Major Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, Chief Constable of the Holy Inquisition and Lieutenant General of the Kingdom of Nueva Vizcaya for General Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, Governor and Captain General of said Kingdom by order of His Excellency Duque de Linares, Viceroy and Captain General of all the Kingdoms of New Spain, convoyed and brought us to the said new missions, paying out of his own wealth the expenses of thirty soldiers and their full equipment and arms, while employed in the service of both Majesties, and how he left us in peaceful possession of the said missions, as shown by the reports of the said Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, who, with Catholic zeal, held for this purpose many parliaments by means of an interpreter, with all the chiefs of the eight pueblos which were found. He [Retis] regaled them at his own expense, giving food and decent clothes to the chiefs and their wives, and to all the others various woolen and cotton clothes, knives, tobacco, rosaries, etc., out of regard for the good reception which they accorded us. Likewise, to us, when it was determined that we should remain, he gave flour, meat, condiments, wax, and wine for the celebration of Mass. With his customary kindness and charity, he ordered us to tell him, then and in the future, all our needs so that he might supply them. Being grateful for all the good which he has done for us in our persons as well as for the welfare of these pueblos, we pray God our Lord and will in the future offer our prayers, that He may repay him for so much kindness and charity, increasing his spiritual blessings and his temporal wealth. All these things being true, we sign the record in this Pueblo and Mission of San Francisco de la Junta de los Rios this, the 3rd day of June, 1715, A. D.

Fray Gregorio Osorio
Fray Juan Antonio García

I, Father and Preacher, Fray Joseph de Arránegui of the Order of Our Seraphic Father St. Francis of the Holy Province of the Santo Evangelio of the City of Mexico, do certify and relate how the said Fathers, Fray Andrés Ramírez, Fray Gregorio Osorio, and Fray Juan Antonio García, as well as myself were convoyed to La Junta de los Rios del Norte with the Conchos by Sergeant Major Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, Chief Constable of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, acting for the Governor and Captain General of this Kingdom of Vizcaya as his lieutenant, as ordered by His Excellency Duque de Linares, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of all the Kingdoms of New Spain, who ministered to us whatever the country permitted, paying out of his own wealth the expenses of thirty soldiers and twenty Indian auxiliaries with their General, Don Antonio de la Cruz, Governor of the Pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes, each bearing his own arms in the service of both Majesties. He left the aforesaid Fathers, Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan

Antonio García, in peaceful possession of said Junta in the Pueblo of San Francisco, having held with great zeal for this purpose many parliaments and assemblies with all the governors, captains, and chiefs of the eight pueblos that were found within a radius of six leagues at and beyond the junction of the two rivers, making everything clear to all, both those who understood Spanish and those who did not, through General Juan Antonio de la Cruz, who officiated as interpreter. Likewise, I certify how said Sergeant Major gave, at his own expense, to the said principal Indians and chiefs such necessities as flour, meat, and clothing for themselves as well as their wives, so that the natives were very contented and expressed their appreciation to the said Sergeant Major in my presence. Likewise, the two above-mentioned priests, having decided to remain in the said new missions, were by him graciously provided and to their satisfaction with such meat, flour, condiments, wax, and wine with which to say Mass, and all other things which seemed necessary. After this, with great generosity, he entreated said priests to make known to him without reservation, then and at all times their needs, so that he might supply them, which he would be glad to do at his own expense. Then he asked the two religious to pardon him for any omissions or shortcomings on his part, for he wished that he had been able to do for us all that his desire and veneration dictated. This we experienced during the journey, and being grateful, we offered to commend him to God and pray that He remunerate him for the good which he had done to our persons and the common welfare of the pueblos, where he worked with zeal for the greater service of both Majesties. The Sergeant continued in the manner I have certified on the return trip from the juncture of said rivers to this Real of San Francisco de Cuéllar, where we arrived in peace and with pleasure, without suffering the slightest disturbance during the journey. In order that this shall be acceptable to our King and Master (may God grant him a long life) and his Excellency, the Viceroy of New Spain, I do certify and sign my name in this Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar, on this the 11th day of June, 1715.

Fray Joseph de Arránegui

I, Sergeant Major Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis, Chief Constable of the Holy Inquisition, resident and miner in this Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar, and acting Lieutenant Captain General of its frontiers, etc., declare that the Reverend Father and Preacher, Fray Joseph de Arránegui of the Order of Our Father St. Francis, Commissary of the Holy Inquisition, Adjutant General of the Custodia of the Province of New Mexico. delivered to me on April 1, of this year, 1715, a sealed letter from His Excellency, Duque de Linares, Viceroy, Captain and Governor General of New Spain, the substance of which, to the letter is as follows:

"The religious, who will place this in your hands, are going, at my request, to that territory to visit the Indians of La Junta de los Rios. You should not only help them and supply them with whatever they may need, but you should show your favor by accompanying them to the place where the Indians reside, this being a work in my estimation of great service to God and his Majesty. I trust to your zeal for its accomplishment and request that you send me a detailed report of whatever you learn both as to the character of the Indians and as to the land, that in view of this I may adopt the measures deemed most convenient. (May God keep you many years). Mexico, October 24, 1714. Duque de Linares to the Sergeant Major Don Antonio de Trasviña Retis."

In obedience to this superior order, I then proceeded to provide, at my own expense, the necessary supplies and other necessities for thirty men equipped with offensive and defensive arms and twenty Indian auxiliaries with their chiefs from the Pueblos of San Antonio de Julimes, San Pablo, Santa Cruz and San Pedro de Conchos, under the command of Don Antonio de la Cruz, general of the four pueblos. He is known to Colonel Juan Joseph Masoni for his courage, extreme loyalty and valor, and the great following he has among the Indians of La Junta, of which he is a native. These Indian auxiliaries and Captain Don Joseph de Beasoain are to be incorporated with the twenty soldiers of the Presidio of Conchos, whom the Governor and Captain General of this kingdom furnished as soon as the said Father Adjutant requested it of him to convoy the said religious. This number seemed sufficient, considering [the character] of the Indians at La Junta.

But in the country that lies between this Real and the said Junta, where lies a good part of the road we would necessarily have to follow, are found the crossings, entrances, and exits of the hostile Indians, who oftentimes reside there, such as the Sinsibles, Chisos, Chinarras, Cocoyames, and Acocolames. I deemed it necessary, therefore, in order to safeguard the persons of the said religious, their own lives and mine from any evil intent of the said enemies to carry at my cost the additional thirty men and twenty Indians, with the requisite number of servants for fifty pack animals to conduct the foodstuffs and supplies for my party and the religious, making a total of sixty persons, without including the missionaries. Finding that I had all that was necessary to execute that which was ordered by Your Excellency, the Governor and Captain General of this Kingdom Don Manuel San Juan de Santa Cruz, Knight of the Order of Santiago, solicitous for the best success of the enterprise, sent me the title of Lieutenant Captain General, so that during this journey I should command the soldiers as such, and wherever it might later be necessary and convenient for the royal service. Having ordered Captain Don Joseph de Beasoain and the two priests that were in his presidio, those who had come assigned to the new missions, to go on to the Pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes in order that we might be incorporated and there to proceed to La Junta de los Rios, and having been informed that said captain would arrive on May 23 at the place indicated, I left on this day from this Real, taking in my company the Reverend Fathers Fray Joseph de Arránegui and Fray Andrés Ramírez. The record of the journey and the places visited are as follows:

On Thursday, May 23, I left the Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar at about four o'clock in the morning, and at noon I had lunch with the two priests on a spring at the mouth of the river called Julimes, which is eight leagues from where I started. In the afternoon of the same day I traveled with the said priests, soldiers, and the entire convoy to a place where there was another spring of water and advanced twelve leagues during the entire day. Here we spent the night, in testimony whereof I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Friday, May 24. In the morning we left the above-mentioned place of Bachimba for the Pueblo and Mission of San Antonio de Julimes, a distance of five leagues, where I found Captain Joseph de Beasoain with twenty soldiers and the two priests who are to establish the missions at La Junta de los Rios, who joined us here. We continued throughout the day in good order to the first crossing of the Conchos River, where we spent the night. We traveled seven leagues, which added to the five traveled to the mission, made a total of twelve for the day. The country was open but exposed to the enemy. To this I sign.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Saturday, May 25. We left said first crossing of the Conchos River after noon, when the drove of pack animals and the drove of horses, which had been separated from us the two previous days, arrived, and we traveled seven leagues to El Alamo where we stopped that night, because there I found a small spring of water sufficient for human needs only, and I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Sunday, May 26. Mass was celebrated in the said place of El Alamo by Father Fray Andrés Ramírez and it was heard by all the people. We then traveled to a marsh with springs. This place is useless, there being not an atom of ground that could be irrigated with the water of the springs, because it follows a ledge along sterile hills. Having crossed a sharp ridge half a league after we left the marshes, which is very difficult to defend from the enemy, because of its narrow extent and the great number of boulders, we arrived at this place of Las Chorreras at about eight o'clock in the morning and spent the day here till about three o'clock in the afternoon, when I continued the journey to the waterhole of Las Sauces, where I arrived at about eight o'clock that night, the whole party having traveled twelve leagues this day, morning and afternoon, crossing the range between Las Chorreras and Las Sauces, which is more than a league of climbing up and down and very rough going with many obstacles, so that men on horseback can hardly get through except for two ledges used to descend, where it is necessary to go in single file. In testimony, I sign.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Monday, May 27. I traveled from Las Sauces to meet the Conchos River again, a distance of five leagues, over pleasant country, through groves of trees and through meadows on either bank, most of the country being hills that are unproductive except for cattle, without any other water than the river. I spent the whole day at the Conchos River so that the pack animals and the drove of horses might rest. I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Tuesday, May 28. I started downstream and stopped at about nine o'clock in the morning on the said river at the place called Santa Cruz, which was an Indian pueblo of the Auchane nation, who are now incorporated in the Pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes. That afternoon I traveled as far as the water hole of Los Mimbres, formed by an arroyo whose course runs for a gunshot's distance. I spent the night here, having traveled eight leagues this day without accident. I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Wednesday, May 29. During the morning I traveled from Los Mimbres to the Pueblo of San Pedro, where the Cholome Indians live on the edge of said Conchos River. They are the most Christianized and civilized, and they are in the habit of going to the estates of General Don Juan Cortés del Rey, a Knight of the Order of Santiago, to work. These Indians had built arches, came out to receive me, gave me the oath of obedience with all loyalty, and regaled me with string beans from their gardens. They had nearly ripe wheat, corn with ears in abundance, and likewise they had fields planted with watermelons and pumpkins not yet ready to eat. I stayed in said pueblo until evening, when they, aided by the Indians in my party, gave me fish which they caught in the river. The lieutenant of the said pueblo is Don Santiago el Torito [Little Bull]. Having shown them much gratitude and explained through the Reverend Father Fray Andrés Ramírez, how I was going to take the two priests that were being sent by his Excellency, the Viceroy, to the Indians who live in the eight pueblos of La Junta de los Rios, they were very happy. The said Don Santiago offered to see the general of all the Cholomes, who is Don Andrés Coyame, who with some other people lives in a cienega [moor] two leagues distant, but who is now at the home of Don Juan Cortés, where said Don Santiago was on the point of going with some people to cut the said Cortés' wheat, and on arriving there he [Santiago] would speak to the said general, so that they would be given priests who would minister to them, and he [Santiago] would notify me. Then I gave them some meat I had with me and two bundles of tobacco, which pleased them very much. The lieutenant counted all the people of this pueblo, men, women and children, and he gave me the number as one hundred and ninety persons. On the afternoon of said day I traveled from this pueblo to another called El Cuchillo Parado which is now called Nuestra Señora de Begoña, where Indians of the eight pueblos of La Junta live, who, notified by Father Fray Andrés Ramírez, came out to receive me with much joy. They gave the oath of obedience, kissing the robe of the Fathers of St. Francis. They had many arches along the road. I spent the night in this pueblo. They had much wheat ready to cut and other grain as already indicated, of which they gave me with great liberality of those which were edible, showing much joy because the priests were being taken to their relatives at La Junta. They, though few in number, would also like to maintain priests who would minister to them. In the meantime, while priests are being sent by His Excellency to them they would go to La Junta, so that they might be ministered to by the priests who are coming to live there. Having some worn-out horses and mules, I decided to order that they be left in the care of the said Indians, which was done, leaving also twelve loads of supplies, flour, meat, and biscuit for the return trip from La Junta so as not to carry this load both ways. I had the food put in one of the few houses of the pueblo that had doors like a presidio, facing the church, at a distance of one hundred paces from the village. The people were counted and there were twenty-four persons. Having traveled twelve leagues today, the facts were properly set down and signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Thursday, May 30. The day of the Ascension of Our Lord, Mass was said by Father Fray Gregorio Osorio, which was heard by all the people. I then left the said pueblo and after crossing a rough ridge at about half a league, I arrived at the foot of the Cuesta Grande [high cliff] and the range that has to be crossed in order to see the pueblos at La Junta on the banks of the Conchos River. Here I stopped that night, having traveled about five leagues. Since there was nothing else worthy of record, I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Friday, May 31. I started at daybreak from the foot of the Cuesta Grande and traveled to the first of the eight pueblos, of which I had been informed by the Reverend Father Fray Andrés Ramírez. This first pueblo is called El Mesquite, but I named it Nuestra Señora de Loreto in honor of her saintly image which I carried as guide and patron of the journey. On this trip we crossed a very high range entering through a canyon about two leagues long. In order to proceed I had Indians breaking and moving boulders. From the top is seen all the valley of La Junta de los Rios. Because of the roughness of the passage only twelve leagues were traveled today. The Indians of all the pueblos came out to receive me, having built arches along the road. They gave the oath of obedience and kissed the hands of the priests.

I spent the rest of the day in the pueblo. The people who live in it were counted and there were eighty persons of all ages. The land in the valley of the Conchos River, on both sides, is open and rolling, having mountains in the background. They have much wheat, corn, and legumes planted in irrigated fields. The pueblo, with its plaza in the middle, is well fenced with a wall. Its houses and portals have thin walls and roof-beams of sycamore, because no other wood is found along the river. Since there was nothing else to record today, I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Saturday, June 1. I left said first pueblo, Nuestra Señora de Loreto, traveling downstream on the banks of the Conchos River, seeing fields of wheat, corn and other grains on both banks of this river. In one league I arrived at the Indian pueblo of the Cacalote nation, which I named San Juan Bautista. It is fenced and has its plaza in the middle, upon which the houses face, where the inhabitants, having put up arches, received me. I ordered the governor, the captains and the cacique to count the people of the said pueblo by families and having executed the order punctually, they brought me the number of one hundred and sixty-five persons, young and old. I gave orders that the next day, Sunday, they should all go down to the pueblo of La Junta de los Rios called San Francisco to attend Mass. This would be said by the priests there, as that place would be made the headquarters for La Junta, because it is in the center of the eight pueblos. Having made this provision, I proceeded to and arrived at the said Pueblo of San Francisco de La Junta at about nine o'clock in the morning, having traveled about four leagues down through the open valley of the Conchos River. Many Indians of all the pueblos came out to receive me with their governors, captains, and with their flags of peace. They were in military formation and orderly lines along the entrance to the said pueblo. They had many arches built and even the women and children made many demonstrations of joy, all being in lines on either side of the entrance to the pueblo, where I stopped. They all gathered around me with rejoicing when I dismounted from my horse and gave the oath of obedience. I immediately told the governors that I did not want to stay in the pueblo, as the soldiers and others of the party would cause them inconvenience and, as I had no intention of harming them, that I would put up my tents at a distance from the pueblo. To all of this plan the governor of the pueblo, Don Pascual de Orthega replied, thanking me and saying that it was not necessary [to encamp] as the Pueblo of San Francisco is divided into three settlements, separated about three hundred yards from each other, and that he had retired all of his people to the two outside settlements leaving the one in the middle free and unencumbered for me, where I could stop with the entire company, which I did, thanking him for his kindly arrangements. I ordered the corporals to instruct the soldiers that they were not to go to the pueblos except in my company and that those contravening this order would be punished in military fashion. With this arrangement the day passed, in witness whereof I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Sunday, June 2. All the people from the eight pueblos congregated to hear Mass. Three were said. To the last of these celebrations all the governors, captains, caciques, and chiefs of the said pueblos came, stopping by the house where I was to accompany them in good comradeship to the church. After they had heard the last Mass said by the Reverend Father Fray Andrés Ramírez, they all returned to the pueblo, and I spoke to them. I reminded them that many times they had asked Father Ramírez on the three occasions when he had come to that country, if he would write and ask His Excellency, the Viceroy, to send priests to minister to them, which he had done. His Excellency, in his zeal, gave immediate attention to the letter and promptly sent them two missionaries of the Order of Our Father St. Francis whom, by the order of His Excellency, I had brought with the intention that they should remain to minister to them. They understood that they were to comply with Christian obligations and obey and help the priests, living in obedience to our Catholic King, executing his orders and those issued by the priests, their ministers. I told them these and other things conducive to this end in the Castilian language, which was understood by many who were versed in Spanish. When the speech was concluded, the priest explained it in their own language, so that it would be understood by all. General Don Antonio de la Cruz, Governor of San Antonio de Julimes, understood, agreed, and was satisfied. He replied that they were very grateful to the priest for the good he had done for them in writing to His Excellency, the Viceroy, so that he would send priests to minister to them and that they would comply with the Christian obligations, and be loyal vassals of His Majesty. Then we left the church. The said Indians as well as the four priests accompanied me to the house along with the captain of the Conchos all of whom had congregated to hear Mass. After arriving at the house, I told them my purpose in coming through General Don Antonio de la Cruz, who understands both the Castilian language and that of the Indians, because he is a native of that nation. I charged them, in the most agreeable and efficacious manner I could employ, with the duties that seemed to me the most conducive to success in securing the foundation of those missions and the spread of the Holy Gospel. I reminded them of the trip they took to the Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar to see Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni, who was then officer acting for His Excellency, the Viceroy, in said mining and presidial camp, whom the Indians asked in my presence with much insistence to help them, asking that His Excellency would send teaching priests to them so that they could live like Christians. To this the said Colonel Masoni listened with zeal, much care and commiseration, and offered to present their request to His Excellency. This promise was executed, in which he begged the Provincial Superior of the Franciscans of Zacatecas to give permission and an order to the above-mentioned priest, Father Fray Andrés Ramírez to enter La Junta de los Rios, where he had been on previous occasions, to inform him whether the said Indians were firm in their intentions. This was done by the said Father Fray Andrés Ramírez and he gave an account by letter, which was received by said Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni, who forwarded it with a representation and a memorial to His Excellency Duque de Linares, Viceroy of New Spain, on May 30, 1713. [This transmittal of documents] in effect was the beginning [of these relations], and has resulted in this expedition. His Excellency ordered me to help the priests in all that they needed, to accompany them to this place, and to make for him a complete report on the contact with the Indians and the country, in view of which he might administer whatever might be convenient for the provinces. I likewise recalled to them how the said Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni had regaled them through my hand, when they went to see him at the said Real de San Francisco de Cuéllar, giving them meat, flour, and whatever was necessary to eat in that Real and that they were able to return to their pueblos, all of which [happenings] they admitted. They acknowledged the gratitude and obligation they owed to the said Colonel Masoni, because he had made their hearts happy, which is the Indian way of showing and making known their contentment. They manifested it by their actions and demonstrations of which we, the religious Fathers as well as Captain Joseph de Beasoain and I, were very proud.

We were pleased to see Indians with such good reason and so polite without having had any education and also to see them so well-dressed, men as well as women, the chiefs and their wives being outstanding with better clothes in the Spanish fashion, with shirts of fine white linen worked in silk. Some had skirts of serge, silk shawls, Cordovan shoes, imported Brussels silk socks. I found men, women and children with good-natured, happy faces, who were very sociable with the Spaniards as they came and went all day long in the house where I was stopping; coming and going like servants with no differences and without showing the slightest action contrary to good loyalty. In order that their loyalty might be more permanent, having brought from my house and at my own expense four hundred yards of cloth and some tobacco, I divided it in good order among the governors, captains, and chiefs of these pueblos in order that they might dress themselves and their wives. I gave them also a supply of meat to divide among themselves. When all this was finished, I ordered them through said interpreter, General Don Antonio de la Cruz, to undertake soon the work of building a friary and cells, with adobe walls, for the priests before the rains should set in to prevent it. They should likewise repair the churches for the present, so that they would not leak when it rains, and that they should build churches of such size as was required by the number of people in each pueblo with all the decency that the territory and their ability would permit, so that they could hear Mass and receive the Holy Sacraments, all of which they promised to execute to the satisfaction of the priests. They begged me to prevail upon you to continue to help and protect them by sending two more missionaries for the four pueblos which are in the other section of La Junta at a distance of two leagues and that Your Excellency would provide them with the customary ornaments for the establishment of new missions: bells and other usual adornments for the churches of the eight pueblos. Moreover, they ask of your greatness to send an iron bar, so that they will be able to open ditches and take water out of the rivers in order to irrigate [the land], some plowshares to till the soil, and some pickaxes and hoes. Their means will not permit them to purchase these things. In order to buy clothes, they travel more than one hundred thirty leagues at the risk of meeting enemies to work on the farm estates of San Bartolomé Valley. These trials I make known to you as proof of the loyalty and fine spirit in which they have always lived, the perseverance they manifest, and the good order that obtains in the pueblos, as has been described. The many fields of wheat, corn, and other grains which they have in the valleys of these rivers, and the crops they are getting ready to plant on the banks of the Rio del Norte, as soon as the crest lowers, which is now carrying the water of the snow that is being melted by the heat in the North, I saw and examined today with great pleasure while passing through the said valleys. The land is very suitable and fertile for crops and there are many groves of trees with thick foliage; sycamore, willow, and tamarisk on the banks of the river and on the little islands. To visit the pueblos and their crops on the other bank, which could already be seen in major part, I ordered the said Indian governors to make a raft on which to cross over tomorrow, Monday, and that today they should count the Indians in this Pueblo of San Francisco and in that of the Conejo nation, which is on this bank on the edge of the river that comes from the north at about one and one-half leagues from La Junta, and we named it Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu. They executed my order and in the evening of this day they brought me the number of this Pueblo of San Francisco which has one hundred eighty persons, young and old, and that of Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu, seventy-one persons. With these duties this day passed. The evening was occupied by the priests, who came to found these missions and who are Fathers Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan Antonio García. They baptized fourteen children in the presence of myself, the Captain of Conchos and the soldiers. The godfathers were the said captain as well as some of the soldiers, who were invited by the parents of the children. All these events here related having taken place, today we stopped, because of the setting sun, and thus, because this record is the truth, I signed.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Monday, June 3. In the morning said Indians advised me that they had made the boat which I had ordered them to construct the night before, and I went down to cross over to the other side, taking in my company the priests, the Captain of Conchos and twenty-five soldiers, leaving the rest and the cavalcade in the Real. The priests, the captains, and I crossed over on the raft and the soldiers went on horseback. Without accident we arrived at the Pueblo of the Polacmes and Sibulas. The latter, which is the largest of the eight pueblos of this valley, we named Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Having counted the people of this pueblo, we learned that there were five hundred and fifty persons, young and old, and we found that it was well built with two plazas dividing the two nations, which are united for purposes of mutual defense from the enemies that have attacked them from time to time, because the former did not care to admit the assemblies of these hostile Indians to go with them up into the mountains. This can all be verified by General Don Antonio de la Cruz of the Pueblo of Julimes, who has given them help, having been notified by runners, by means of which they had maintained themselves without admitting the evil assemblies of the enemies and without help from the Spaniards, which proves their constancy to the Catholic Faith.

About a league farther down, on the banks of La Junta de los Rios, there are three pueblos close together and in the same form as the rest. The first is that of the Puliques, which I named Señor San José and which has ninety-two persons, young and old, and the next is that of the Conchos which I named San Antonio de Padua and which has eighty-seven people, young and old; the last one which was named San Cristóbal is that of the Poxalmas and numbers one hundred and eighty inhabitants, young and old.

The governors counted [the people] in this and all the other pueblos and added to the number eighty persons who are working in the Valley of San Bartolomé and whom I ordered the said governors to bring back along with the Indians that were about to go to the wheat harvest. So that this could be carried out without embarrassment to a single person I gave them a letter of supplication for the Governor and Captain General of this kingdom in which I asked him to order it thus, so that they would return to their pueblos and see their teaching ministers and so that the people of each pueblo could be registered with due care. Having added the people counted in the eight pueblos on either bank at

La Junta de los Rios, it seems that there are one thousand four hundred and five persons, not counting the Cholomes of the Pueblo of San Pedro, which has one hundred and ninty persons and those of the same nation which live in the Cienega of Coyame on the estate of General Don Juan Cortés del Rey, nor the forty-four persons of the Conejo nation, who live in the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Begoña del Cuchillo Parado. Through the interpreter, Don Antonio de la Cruz, I repeated in all the pueblos what was said the day before regarding their obligation to live good Christian lives, to die in the Faith of Jesus Christ and that of our Catholic King, and to be loyal vassals. They promised to comply with this advice and were very happy. At about four o'clock in the afternoon, I returned to the Real de San Francisco in the company of all those who had gone with me and I stopped here, having spent the day in these duties, and this testimony being the truth, I signed it:

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Tuesday, June 4. I spent the entire day in said pueblo, where I set up camp, and sent a call to all the governors and to the oldest and most expert Indians, who, being all assembled, I questioned them again and again through the interpreter, General Antonio de la Cruz, regarding information about the Colorado River as well as the Pearl Sea or Pearl Lake, which was mentioned in a letter to Colonel Don Juan José Masoni by Reverend Father Andrés Ramírez as having been reported by an Apache Indian, whom he baptized and who reported said lake to be six days' travel from La Junta. The most experienced Indians replied that no one from those pueblos had been there or to a similar place and that they had heard of it only from the said Apache, whom they had taken to be their friend. He promised them that when teaching missionaries should come to these pueblos, he would bring all the people of his ranchería, which are about sixty families above and below La Junta, so that they should all be catechized and baptized. Failure to notify the said Apache that His Excellency was sending the religious, was due to knowledge that there was smallpox on his ranchería and that care should be taken not to contract the disease. When he comes, as he is in the habit of doing, they will send him to me with an interpreter so that I may question him. Likewise I asked them, if they know how far it is from La Junta to El Paso del Río del Norte; from the Indian manner of using days to indicate distance I concluded that it is seventy leagues, more or less. They have heard that between here and there, along the banks of the Rio del Norte, there are rancherías of heathen and apostate Indians of the Suma, Cholome, Chinarra and Totame nations, who steal horses and commit other hostilities at El Paso del Rio del Norte and at the farms around Chihuahua, San Buenaventura and other places. Likewise I asked them if they know how far it is from this place to Coahuila and to Parras, but no one could tell, because they had not been over the country. Only because they had been there, could they tell me about the springs and the ranges, where the Cocoyames, Acolames, Sinsibles and Chisos usually live, telling me that to the south of La Junta de los Rios there is the cliff of Santa Marta where they fought with the Chisos, when the Governor of this kingdom, Don Juan Isidro de Pardiñas came; again on another occasion, they joined with Captain Juan de Retana. On all of these occurrences the people from these pueblos accompanied the soldiers. They fought the enemy at the said cliff frequently, at the Sierra de Taque and in the places called Encinillas, Conula and Bapagua, the nearest of which is at a distance of thirty leagues. Each of these places has its springs of water, but it is not known at present whether the hostile nations are to be found in one of these places or somewhere else. Seeing that they knew nothing else worth inquiring about, I determined to leave the next day, Wednesday, for home, since I had nothing else to do or to advise. With this resolution, I asked Fray Gregorio Osorio and Fray Juan Antonio García, whether they were satisfied with what had been done and ordered among the Indians, and whether they stayed in the said place with pleasure and without regret to establish the missions and minister to those natives. They should tell me if there was anything lacking, and if they did not have it, they should ask for whatever they needed, as I would leave them some part of whatever I had, and if they should still lack something, I would send it from my house, for which purpose some Indians of said pueblos would come with me. Thus, for the present as well as in the interim in which, with the news of this result, Your Excellency is granting the most convenient provisions, I will give without reserve whatever they need as Your Excellency ordered me. Being satisfied, they were to present me with a certificate signed by their hands as evidence that I had complied with the mandate of the Most Excellent Viceroy. The said religious being very happy and full of zeal and hope for their work of gathering much fruit in those pueblos, determined, for the present, to remain together in this Pueblo of San Francisco and from there to minister to all of the pueblos. It seemed agreeable for each [of the pueblos] to bring to the said priests two boys, ten years of age or less, who should live with these Fathers so that the latter might teach them Christian doctrine, after which, in the absence of priests in their pueblos, they could teach [the doctrine] to the rest in the meanwhile until the arrival of the necessary priests for said pueblos. With this disposition, having given them as much as they asked of flour, meat, soap, lard, tobacco, powders, paper, and a bottle of wine with which to say Mass, and six pounds of wax, they gave me the certificate which is attached to this account together with that which was given to me by the Reverend Father Fray Joseph de Arránegui, Commissary of the Holy Office and Procurator of the Custody of New Mexico, as a witness. All of this has been related to his satisfaction as ordered by the very Reverend Father Commissary General of St. Francis for this purpose, and being the truth, I signed it.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Wednesday, June 5. Having taken leave of the said religious, I left this pueblo of La Junta in the morning accompanied by Fathers Fray Joseph de Arránegui and Fray Andrés Ramírez and Captain Joseph de Beasoain. We traveled with the entire train to the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Loreto, where we ate and took the siesta [and then went on] to La Sierra where we spent the night having traveled eight leagues this day. The captains and governors of said pueblos went with me on my departure as far as the said place, sending in my company eight Indians of the pueblos in order that they might bring back thirty-five capon sheep and six goats with kids, which it was necessary to send to the above-mentioned priests who remained, as there was no kind of cattle in all the pueblos; in witness whereof, I signed the record,

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Thursday, June 6. I left said place at the foot of La Sierra and La Cruz with the entire train and arrived at the banks of the Conchos River on the other side of La Sierra at about nine o'clock in the morning. Having eaten and taken the siesta in the said place, I traveled during the afternoon to the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Begoña del Cuchillo Parado where I had left, on the way out, the twelve loads of supplies and the worn-out horses and mules. I found the latter had been well cared for and were lacking in nothing. In recompense for their loyalty, I thanked the people and gave them a portion of meat of about one hundred fifty pounds for all of the Indians of the pueblo to eat and two bundles of tobacco. I spent the night in this pueblo; with nothing more noteworthy for record, in witness whereof I signed it:

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Friday, June 7. I left said pueblo going through the same places as were seen on the journey out to La Junta de los Rios, traveling in good order in the company of the two aforementioned religious and the Captain of the Conchos to the Pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes, where we arrived at ten o'clock in the morning, at which time said Captain Don Joseph de Beasoain with his twenty soldiers departed for their presidio and Father Fray Andrés Ramírez went in his company. I proceeded, taking in my company the priest Fray Joseph de Arránegui, and having this day sent back the eight Indians of La Junta de los Rios with the thirty-five sheep and six goats, which I bought from Captain Juan de Sosa, I arrived at San Gerónimo River where I spent the night. The next day, which was the last day of Pentecost, I reached home with the thirty soldiers, which I took at my own expense, and the twenty Indians with their General Don Antonio de la Cruz, paying them, each and every one in cash, as they had all complied with their orders punctually, and having concluded the mandate and completed all that was ordered by Your Excellency, the said soldiers left this day very contented, leaving me in my home. This being the truth, I signed it:

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Up to this point is the description of the journey and what was seen of the territory. Its climate is pleasant and temperate and the valleys of the rivers are very fertile. There are places on both banks of the streams well suited to the raising of cattle and horses, with the running springs that were mentioned in the description of the ninety-one league journey over the route which I was forced to travel in the summer season. The distance between water holes prevented me from going by either one of the two roads that lead from this Real to La Junta, one called the Valley of Santa Clara and the other Sierra de los Ormigas, both of which lead straight to the Cienega of Coyame. I am informed that it is open country and that the distance from this said Real to La Junta is sixty leagues and that there are two stretches of between fifteen and twenty leagues in which there is no water, for which reason this route can be traveled only by going light or during the rainy season. From what I have seen, it seems to me that said missions will probably be maintained without Spanish settlers, because the territory is suitable only for farming and cattle raising, as there is no forest or woods between this Real and La Junta and for many leagues beyond and on either side, according to information I acquired from the natives and other persons who have been there on occasional campaigns. Lacking in timber, it is not possible to establish mining towns, which are the villages that support this kingdom, but these new missions can remain and maintain themselves very well with fruit and the fish of the rivers and with them be of great assistance to this Real. Establishing more solidly the two missions of the Cienega, the one of Coyame named Santiago and the other in the Pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Begoña del Cuchillo Parado, which are within two leagues' travel, and the other Pueblo of San Pedro which is at another two leagues' distance and forty leagues from this Real, the said three pueblos can be ministered conveniently by two religious. This [arrangement] seems to me to be very necessary and convenient, since they are twenty leagues closer to this Real and on the route over which it is necessary to travel to the missions of La Junta de los Rios. In consideration of this, as soon as I reached this Real, I wrote General Don Juan Cortés del Rey, Knight of the Order of Santiago, because the above-mentioned Don Andrés Coyame, General of the Cholomes was there with people whom he had taken there from his pueblo for the harvest of the said Cortés' wheat. The said Cortés, with zeal, and through an interpreter, explained to the said Coyame and such of his people as were present, the context of my letter in the presence of Father Fray Raymundo Gras, one of the three, who by order of Your Excellency, came for this new foundation and because of illness was not able to go with me. The latter is now well and only waiting for the wagons to go to the missions of La Junta, being greatly consoled on having heard of the intention of the said Coyame, all of which will be seen in the reply from the said General Don Juan Cortés. The latter letter is enclosed as proof for Your Excellency, that the missions that are proposed and for which religious are asked to minister along with the eight of La Junta de los Rios, require three more religious besides the three that are here, so that they can comfortably minister the eleven above-mentioned pueblos dividing the religious between them as follows: Two in the Cienega of Coyame and the Cuchillo Parado; two in the four pueblos on this bank of La Junta de los Rios and the last two should minister the four pueblos that are founded in the other part of La Junta, two leagues distant. It seems sufficient for the present to provide this number of religious for the establishment and foundation. Calling to the attention of Your Excellency, that besides the ornaments for the churches of all these pueblos, it will be necessary to send cattle and sheep to these priests, which they can raise for their permanent support. A hundred head of cattle and another hundred head of sheep, well cared for, would seem to be enough for each pueblo. The principal [herds and flocks] can be preserved and the increase can be used for their support, giving some to the Indians on occasion of titular feasts of the pueblos and other functions as is the custom of the Missionary Fathers.

A few days after returning here from La Junta de los Rios, Captain Don Pedro with forty Indians came from there *en route* to the wheat harvest on the farms of San Bartolomé Valley. He brought me a letter from Father Fray Gregorio Osorio, the original of which I enclose with its inventory, as a witness for Your Excellency that the said priests are having no difficulties with the Indians. I sent them immediately all that they asked for, as I shall do in all that is necessary, until the arrival of the wagons in which their allowance is being brought, as I was ordered by Your Excellency. Captain Don Pedro gave me news that the Apache Indian, who was baptized by Father Fray Andrés Ramírez and who named Don Antonio de la Cruz, the General of Julimes Pueblo of La Junta de los Rios for his godfather, came [to that place], for he learned that I had conducted the Fathers there. But he arrived too late. He, therefore, told the Indians of La Junta to advise me that he would come to this Real as soon as he returns from the Colorado River, where he went to get information for me about that and other places. The result of this investigation, if the occasion should arise, I will take care to forward to Your Excellency, to whose piety I appeal in behalf of the welfare of these unfortunate natives of La Junta. It seems that they should be relieved of the necessity of working on the farms of San Bartolomé Valley, which are being given people by the Governor. Let those of La Junta come to this Real, where they would be saved half of the journey and the greater part of the risk of enemies. With regard to this matter, Your Excellency might order whatever is most convenient, maintaining the status quo of the Cholomes, who work on the estate of General Don Juan Cortés, whose farms are closer than those referred to in the valley.

It also seems necessary that I tell Your Excellency about having virtually seen and verified all that was related by Father Fray Andrés Ramírez to Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni, and in witness of his prelates. So that any other opinion that might be held will be banished, I, as well as the said priest and the Father and Commissary of the Holy Office, Fray Joseph de Arránegui and the two who remained in La Junta de los Rios, verify all the journey and what they said regarding the conditions. They have labored like true religious of Our Father St. Francis and are worthy of better employment.

It also seems obligatory on my part to advise Your Excellency of the loyalty, valor and other prerogatives of Don Antonio de la Cruz, Indian Governor of the Pueblo of San Antonio of Julimes, whose deeds are meritorious and who is a native of La Junta de los Rios and has co-operated with great zeal in the founding of these missions, as will be seen in the certificate given to said General by the said Father Fray Andrés Ramírez. The letter repeats the fact that the new Christianity had effect only because he added the valor and vigilance with which he defended his pueblo, which is on the frontier, from the hostile Indians, and brings the assistance for which he is asked from time to time by the Indians of the north and the Spaniards who have country estates in the immediate jurisdiction of his pueblo, all of which I have witnessed for eight years in this section since I began to settle this Real. Said Indian is capable, knows how to read and write and deserves to be favored by Your Excellency's greatness as he was by Colonel Don Juan Joseph Masoni, when he was in this Real, having experienced the loyalty of said General Don Antonio de la Cruz, whose titles and certificates I sent to that court, so that they might be presented with a memorial to Your Excellency. If these things seem worthy to the royal service, and Your Excellency would have the title of General of all the pueblos of the new foundation sent to him, I am sure he will govern and control them with good policy. He might be assigned a salary of three hundred grains out of the six thousand grains which his Majesty allows this kingdom each year for the expenses of war and peace. With this salary said General will be able to maintain horses for the functions of and visits to the pueblos. Regarding this and all other things, Your Excellency will determine with Catholic zeal whatever is most convenient. Having no further news to place at the disposal of the high understanding of Your Excellency regarding the detailed account which was ordered, I conclude, sending this carrier, who is Francisco Calderón, one of the soldiers who made this journey at my expense, whom I hope will bring news that what has been done is pleasing to Your Excellency.

In all humility I beg forgiveness of Your Excellency's greatness for any defects there may be in the execution of the orders, as my desire has been to serve Your Excellency with my person as a loyal vassal of Your Majesty and with fervent zeal. The expenses I have sustained and accounted amount to six thousand grains and it would be the greatest pleasure to me, if they were accepted by Your Excellency in the service of our King and Master (may God protect him) as well as the service of settling and founding this Real even though this act may be contrary to the advice of all the people of the kingdom. I have maintained myself at my own expense, until the mines began to produce good supplies of silver. This [country] has been the continual habitat of hostile Indians for about two years. This Real has increased in population every day of the eight years I have lived in it, so that today it is one of the best and most opulent Reales de Minas in all New Spain. According to the location and veins of metals, these mines seem by nature inexhaustible, a verification of which, by one who has seen them, was sent to me by Colonel Don Juan José Masoni. He will also tell how the parochial church was built in this Real at my expense and whose titular patron saints, named by the Governor of this kingdom, are Nuestra Señora de Regla and San Francisco de Cuéllar. The church is thirty-seven *varas* long with a transept, sacristy and baptistry, and a chapel for the Santo Cristo de Mapimí, with all the ornaments, sacred vases, lamp and adornments which have cost me eighteen hundred grains. I caused to be placed in the principal door the Royal Coat of Arms which I revere as a loyal vassal of Your Excellency.

I allege, for merit, how I tithe each year from the silver which my mines produce; how I receive from each of my estates from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand marcs; and being now at the age of fifty-three, having labored with not too good health for horseback travel or to execute other activities involving personal exertion, I am constrained to beg, at the feet of Your Excellency, that I be relieved of any other journeys and granted permission to retire to the tranquillity of my home and family, where I will be praying the Divine Majesty to guard the very important person of Your Excellency and Greatness as the guardian of these kingdoms, San Francisco de Cuéllar. July, 1715.

Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

The titles and advocations of the eleven pueblos contained in this account are as follows: Santiago Apostol de la Cienega del Coyame; San Pedro Apostol for the Cholomes on the Conchos River; Nuestra Señora de Begoña del Cuchillo Parado; Nuestra Señora de Loreto in the pueblo of the Mesquites; San Juan Bautista for the Cacalotes; San Francisco at La Junta for the Opoxmes; Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu for the Conejos; Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe for the Polacmes, and El Señor San José for the Puliques; San Antonio de Padua for the Conchos; and San Cristóbal for the Poxsalmes.

My Very Dear Sir and Friend:

Yesterday, I received the letter from Your Excellency, dated the twentieth of last month, from an Indian of the Presidio of San Francisco de Conchos, in which I obtain the news of the happy success of your trip to the Río del Norte and back, which assured the priests who remained at the missions so much pleasure, and Father Fray Raymundo Gras, who has an ardent desire to be with them, was equally well pleased. Regretting the absence of Captain Don Joseph de Beasoain, I had Andrés Coyame called, to whom I read your letter in the presence of the above-mentioned Father, who interpreted it. The first thing was to make known to said Coyame (though he is a bad man), that for my part not only the Cholomes, but all those who looked for the light of the Gospel should participate in it, even though it should cost my life. I passed from that to a determination of whether he would consent as easily as had the rest of the Indians who had asked for the priests. Having understood and considered the matter, he replied that he and all those of his followers would admit with much pleasure the priest or priests that would be sent to them and that for his part he would be quick to enjoy so much benefit, saying other things that were very much to the satisfaction of said priest, which I judge he will write to Fray Joseph de Arránegui. He will give news of his fervent resolution to prosecute the intention, with which he came, of going to those missions to employ his recovered health in that holy exercise, as he has given me to understand.

Since it seems to me that I have replied to all that your Lordship proposed, and so that I may send this along with what I had already written to you, I close, praying Our Lord to protect you many years. Nuestra Señora del Pilar. July 1, 1715. Your faithful servant who kisses the hand of Your Excellency.

Don Juan Cortés, to Sergeant Major
Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

My Dear Sir:

I hope God was pleased to let you have a very happy trip, that you arrived home, where I hope you have recovered from the copious labors and difficulties of a journey so trying, and that you are now in good health and in the company of the lady, your wife, and the baby. I place myself at your service and kiss your hand.

I now have a terrible pain in one shoulder-blade, that is felt also in the chest, which I have had for five or six days, although it lets up at times, because God always sends illness with mercy when there is no medicine. But whatever the circumstances, I am always in your service as your dutiful chaplain and servant, my Lord, and since you are our protector, it is necessary to ask you for help in our time of need. This medicine is needed very much at present, because there is none in all the country, and I have greatly needed also some hoops for silk, because the one which you left is all that we have for everything, and they say it is not possible to make them from sycamore or willow, because these woods are too brittle. If there is sent also a little lard, we would appreciate it. You will please not be angered with us for these inconveniences, as you already understand the necessities here, all of which will be repaid to you by God Our Lord, increasing your wealth and giving you whatever is best suited to your salvation. Fray Juan sends his best regards and places himself at your service.

Up to now no evil has befallen us, thanks to God. Some adobes have been made and an oven is being constructed. Little by little all that time will permit can and will be done. That is all. May God protect you many years and fill you with happiness for this your Mission of San Francisco de la Junta. June 17, 1715. Your most dutiful chaplain and servant, who kisses your hand.

Fray Gregorio Osorio to Sergeant Major and Lieutenant General Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Sergeant Major and Lieutenant Major
Don Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis

Dear Sir:

After closing the letter I am writing, it occurred to me to make known a necessity that had escaped my memory. Trusting in the charity we merit from you, we need some peas and butterbeans to plant as there are none here, and some garden seeds and one copy of Father Castaño's *Doctrinas.* In God's love you will suffer the impertinences of your children like a father. Maintain this establishment as the first stone of the foundation would and God will repay you one hundred fold. May His Majesty keep you many years in this your mission. June 17, 1715. Your most affectionate chaplain and servant, who kisses the hand of Your Excellency.

Fray Gregorio Osorio

It was added to the letter from the original, which I sent to Your Excellency, in witness whereof I signed it in San Francisco de Cuéllar July 12, 1715.

Juan Antonio de Trasviña Retis
Fray Joseph de Arránegui

Translated by

REGINALD C. REINDORP

Notes and Comment

THE LA SALLE MISSIONS

At this time last year, two delegations, one from France and one from Canada, came to this country to celebrate the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Robert Cavelier de la Salle, assassinated near Navasota, Texas, March 19, 1687. The addresses made en route are now published. The Historical Society of Montreal printed some of those made by its members in a brochure, *La Mission Canadienne Cavelier de la Salle,* while the French mission came out with *Louisiane et Texas* in the *Cahiers de Politique Etrangère*. The latter is divided into three parts: "Le Passé," "Le Présent," and "Impressions de voyage." This note is not concerned with the last two divisions. Organized by the Committee "France-Amérique," the delegates took the occasion as a way toward fostering friendly relations by means of intellectual rapprochement. It was a good will tour, one of the "best means to prevent misunderstanding between two great nations, the United States and France," and the mission became somewhat of a crusade. The orators pleaded for a revival of French culture, civilization, and language among the descendants of the French pioneers of Louisiana. Causes for the decline of the French language in the southern state were examined; remedies were suggested to prevent its deterioration and to avert its final disappearance. Highly praised were those good laborers "who devote themselves to spread the kingdom of His Majesty, the French language." There was no question, the orators emphatically asserted, of superseding the indigenous Anglo-American culture, but rather of effecting a fusion of both French and American civilization. It is not impossible for the Louisianians, so it was said, to be sincerely loyal to the United States and at the same time to be loyal to "the traditions of their French ancestors."

Besides expressing such hopes, aims, and ideals, the "missions" avowedly intended to recount certain phases of La Salle's adventurous career, and hence the printed work is open to criticism by historians. Historical accuracy may not have been expected in the rhetorical compositions, but, lest silence be interpreted as approval, certain assertions must be rectified, especially those for which there is no foundation in fact, and one whole speech which attempts to launch a new legend. The students of the history of the exploration of the Mississippi Valley in this country will not be taken off guard; in France, however, and where the French language is spoken, the works of Gabriel Gravier are still, if de Villiers is correct, the principal source which supplies documentation for the La Salle journeys. It is to be regretted that the orators did not consult the findings of American scholars for information. If rumor is to be believed, one of the delegates was unaware of the assassination of La Salle, until the mission reached Chicago.

Skipping through the French publication, one may review La Salle's life in a series of errors. Repeated is the amazing statement of Hennepin that the explorer during his Jesuit days never committed a venial sin. The early explorations of La Salle, his linguistic achievements, his gifts of oratory, the great number of Indians gathered around Fort St. Louis, are given as facts. Beaujeu remains the villain of the drama on the Gulf Coast. The reprint of an address from the Canadian brochure deals with the Sulpician companions of La Salle on his last journey, namely, MM. Chefdeville, d'Esmanville, and Jean Cavelier, La Salle's own brother. It is a panegyric of the last named, abounding in surmises and errors. Thus, the seduction scene, found in a worthless document, is repeated; Nicholas de la Salle is termed the brother of the explorer, to whom he was not at all related; Cavelier is made not to order the sale of his brother's peltries; La Salle on his first journey from Matagorda Bay is made to reach the Mississippi and build a small fort on its banks in 1686. If the orator had not relied upon Jean Cavelier for the fictitious statements, he would not have been able to propose the question: "How did not Tonty see this little fort?" There was no fort; La Salle did not get near the Mississippi that year; a second expedition was undertaken by La Salle expressly "to find his river." Other errors follow, but what evinces complete disregard for records is the explanation advanced to cover the silence of Cavelier about the death of his brother. Father Le Jeune in his *Dictionnaire Général du Canada,* and, in the same year, de Villiers in his *Expédition de Cavelier de la Salle dans le Golfe du Mexique,* said silence was maintained because Cavelier wanted "to frustrate the creditors" of his brother. Neither author originated the accusation; it was made by a cousin of Cavelier, François Plet. But your orator, singling out the moral cause of the disturbing silence, places the blame on—the Jesuits!

The setting was the Illinois country, where the Jesuit, Father Allouez happened to be when the survivors of the La Salle disaster, Joutel, Father Anastasius, and Jean Cavelier arrived at the fort. "Here took place a peculiar incident which would give a partial explanation for the tenacious silence of Cavelier," the orator says, referring to the uneasiness of Allouez on hearing that La Salle might soon arrive at the fort. "M. de la Roncière sets things right. Exactly informed of what had taken place on the Gulf of Mexico, the Jesuits 'had tried to pursue La Salle's enterprise. . . . They asked leave to build a ship and barks to go down the Mississippi. They pledged themselves to draw a map of the river, to describe the flora and fauna of its banks.' There was doubtless somebody at the fort to make known to M. Cavelier these fine projects, destined to complete what Father Marquette had begun. And M. Cavelier, having at heart the glory of his brother, aware that in certain circles La Salle was looked upon as a 'visionary and an impostor,' strengthened his resolve (se serait fortifié dans sa résolution) not to divulge the truth until he reached the Court." This attempt to absolve Cavelier at the expense of the Jesuits is unique as a theory, but nonsense from an historical viewpoint. If the schemes of the Jesuits caused Cavelier to conceal La Salle's death from Tonty, how is the abbé's silence after his return to France explained? Why did Jean Cavelier refuse to let Joutel go to Paris to inform Seignelay and secure help for the poor people stranded at Matagorda Bay? Why did he himself consume two months on pilgrimages and a journey instead of reporting immediately to Seignelay? The statement of the heirs of Cavelier's cousin answers all the questions. "It is affirmed in the memorial of the heirs of his cousin, François Plet, that he concealed the death of La Salle for some time after his return to France, in order to get possession of property which would otherwise have been seized by the creditors of the deceased" (Parkman, *La Salle,* 436, note 1).

M. de la Roncière explains nothing. The quotation, for which no reference is given, is taken from his *Le Père de la Louisiane* (Tours, 1936, 116), and the inserted quotation is a summary of a document printed in Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français* (II, 611-613), long ago analyzed by Parkman (*La Salle,* 433-434). But neither Parkman nor M. de la Roncière link it with the silence of Cavelier. According to Parkman, this document "was written after the return of Beaujeu to France, and before La Salle's death became known," that is, roughly, between July, 1685, and December, 1688. Internal evidence, however, makes it possible to narrow this time limit, and thus to demolish the novel theory. One paragraph reads: "Sieur de Tonty, who is in command at Fort St. Louis, went by the said river (Mississippi) to the country previously discovered by the Sieur de la Salle. If necessary his services might be asked for, all the more so since he is offering to go down to the mouth of the said river" (Margry, III, 612). The offer of Tonty here mentioned was made in Montreal in August, 1687 (Archives des Colonies, C 11A, 9:85); it reached France at the end of the year. Hence the date of the document must be some time after Tonty's offer got to Paris, or in 1688, and the contents of the document, the plan of the Jesuits in France, cannot have been known to a La Salle sympathizer at Fort St. Louis in October, 1687.

If, for the sake of argument, the document is admitted to have been written in 1685 in France, it missed the boats of that year and arrived in Canada at the earliest in September, 1686. Then it must be supposed that the Jesuits of Quebec rushed the plan to the Illinois country by some express messenger, for the regular convoys had already gone. This is absurd, but the crowning absurdity is to suppose that Allouez would on receiving the plan have communicated it to La Salle's partisans! On such assumptions the orator based the sentence: "Il se trouva sans doute quelqu'un pour aviser M. Cavelier de ces beaux projets." He conveniently forgets, it seems, that two months before at the Arkansas when information of the plan was unknown to Cavelier, Cavelier had resolved not to reveal his brother's death *à qui que ce fust.*—J. D.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY CELEBRATION

The Ordinance of 1787 was a document of such far-reaching importance in the development of the Northwest and indirectly of regions further westward that a commission was appointed to plan a fitting celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its enactment. One feature of this observance has been the preparation and distribution by the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission of a pamphlet entitled *History of the Ordinance of 1787 and the Old Northwest Territory,* in which have been summarized in readable form the best authenticated facts relating to the formation of the Ordinance and to the early settlements made in the vast territory bounded by the Ohio River, the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, and the western frontier of the Thirteen Colonies. The state historians of the states now comprised in the region have co-operated with members of the commission and with Dr. Milo M. Quaife of the Burton Historical Collection in Detroit, to produce the little book of 95 pages, interesting to grade and high-school children as well as to their elders. To stimulate the interest of the children, contests, open between October 15, 1937, and February 15, 1938, were offered, contestants to submit drawings or essays. The illustrations scattered through the pamphet are mostly reproductions of the drawings deemed most suitable; they show decided talent. Colleges and universities in the states lying in the old Northwest Territory have, moreover, offered scholarships amounting to $15,000, open to all regularly entered undergraduates. The pamphlet, together with a colored historical map and a bibliography of source material, has been distributed free to teachers within the territory and may be bought for a nominal sum of ten cents from the Commission at Marietta, Ohio.—W. S. M.

CONCERNING ARCHIVES

The third annual *Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1936-1937* has within its pages very enlightening and important information. R. D. W. Connor, Archivist, explains what materials the National Archives are designed to house and what documents are not to be conserved in the spacious repository. His article is amplified by an appendix which is a "Guide to the Materials in the National Archives, June 30, 1937," that is, at the end of the past fiscal year. The entries are classified under five headings: the records of the Congress, those of the executive departments, those of the independent agencies beginning with the collection on the Washington National Monument Society and continuing in the chronological order of establishment down to the Social Securities Board, those of the judiciary, and finally those of a private gift nature, such as motion picture films and sound recordings.

Out west, the Society of American Archivists met in a joint session with the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association at the University of Washington, Seattle, on December 30, 1937. Four papers pertaining to archive content and preservation were read and are now published in *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (January, 1938). These are: "The Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company," by Robert C. Clark, "British Columbia Official Records: The Crown Colony Period," by W. Kaye Lamb, "The Administration of State Archives," by Charles M. Gates, and "Preservation and Repair of Manuscripts in the Huntington Library," by L. Herman Smith. In the preceding number of the same quarterly, Herman J. Deutsch, State Director of the Historical Records Survey, published a "Survey of Spokane Church Archives." This lists the active and defunct churches of Spokane, and gives as did the earlier survey for Seattle a brief statement about the condition of each archive and the availability of materials therein.

Elsewhere, interest in archives has grown, and reports of progress in collection, preservation, and cataloguing of documentary materials are becoming more frequent. The *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* for November, 1937, carried a "Survey of Manuscripts in the British Isles," by Seymour de Ricci, while *Studies* published an account of "The Work of the Irish Manuscript Commission," by R. Dudley Edwards, in its September, 1937, number. Last year Carlos E. Castañeda brought forth as the first volume of a series, *A Report of the Spanish Archives in San Antonio, Texas.* The quarterly of the Minnesota Historical Society of Saint Paul, *Minnesota History,* printed three articles in the course of 1937 on source materials for the history of the Northwest: "Swedish Immigration Material," by George M. Stephenson, "Minnesota Farmers' Diaries," by Rodney C. Loehr, and "Agricultural Periodicals," by Everett E. Edwards.

Mention should be made of the recent appointment of Gustave Lanctot to the position of archivist of the Dominion of Canada.

A very great loss to historical research came with the death of John Franklin Jameson. An excellent account of his great services to American scholars and scholarship appears in *The American Historical Review* for January, 1938.

Announcement has been made of the forthcoming first number of *The Journal of Documentary Publication,* a quarterly review of the application of photography and allied techniques to library, museum, and archival service. Its editorial policy will be in capable hands—a board of editors headed by Dr. Vernon D. Tate of the National Archives as managing editor, and Dr. Charles E. Rush of the Yale University Library as chairman.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The present generation may rejoice in the presence of numerous bibliographies on historical subjects, arranged in neat order for the benefit of students in colleges, research workers, and even for more popular purposes. Historical magazines are contributing no small amount of information on current publications, but the selection of items pertinent to the specific field covered by national and local journals is becoming increasingly difficult for the respective editors of magazines. An inevitable overlapping takes place, and is perhaps necessary in this age of digests. Not everybody is interested in every magazine, yet many in the body professorial wish convenient summaries of what is transpiring in the historical field. *The American Historical Review* regularly publishes lists of articles after the notices of recent publications and thus offers a great service to historians in particular or general work. *The Hispanic-American Historical Review* has been for years past outstanding as a guide to scholars, and *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* is attempting to favor the students of the history of the central portion of the land with a similar service. Local and state journals also make bibliographical contributions. *The Catholic Historical Review* prints its list of periodical literature under four headings—miscellaneous, European, the British Empire, United States. In the October, 1937, number, Father Joseph B. Code gave "A Selected Bibliography of Religious Orders and Congregations of Women Founded within the Present Limits of the United States." As a help to those wanting to know the contents of Catholic periodicals, Walter Romig and Company of Detroit began publication of an index, *The Catholic Bookman,* which appears monthly.

Recently other helps have been produced. Winifred Gregory has edited *American Newspapers, 1821-1936, A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937). This is the completion of a great task of compiling a list of newspapers by states and Canadian provinces, and cities, and is the third of the great guides to library collections; the others are the *Union List of Serials* and the *Serial Publications of Foreign Governments.* Volume IX (1934) of *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* appeared in 1936. Dr. Lewis Hanke of Harvard is keeping abreast of the output on Hispanic America with his edition of the

Handbook of Latin American Studies, an annual guide to the materials being published on anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, and literature, prepared by a number of scholars in each field. The Bibliographical Society of America has the good intention of preventing unnecessary labor on the part of researchers, which might result from bibliographical compilers running wild. It is asking that all who have lists in progress or who are planning a bibliography in some special line, report their plans for publication in its News Sheet. In this manner duplication may be avoided. This idea corresponds with what is being done to prevent duplication of research projects by different students in separated parts of the country. Another work of the type, valuable in more ways than one, is being edited by Donald B. Gilchrist under the title *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities.*

Henry Putney Beers has been amassing for some time items which have gone into his guide to materials for research. His volume is now published under the title *Bibliographies in American History* (New York, The H. W. Wilson Company, 1938). In this compilation there are exactly 300 pages, each containing a number of bibliographies; the total number of items listed in double columns is 7,692; a suitable index of thirty-nine pages rounds out the work. Lists are arranged in fourteen chapters, beginning with general aids and ending with a state by state guide. The intervening chapters follow the anticipated form, namely, colonial period, revolution, confederation, the United States, diplomatic history, economic history, education, and so forth. Even though there are some omissions, and even though there is a lack of criticism of deficiencies in articles and works listed, great credit is due the compiler for his industry in gathering materials into a convenient handbook.

A very notable piece of scholarship has been done on the celebrated Jesuit Relations. It appears now as *Jesuit Relations of Canada: A Bibliography,* by James C. McCoy (Paris, 1937, 225 francs). Mr. McCoy, a collector and student of the documents, had assiduously and at great expense gathered all available bibliographical items pertaining to the 132 editions and distinct variants of the Relations, and had summarized the work done in this regard by scholars for the past century. Just at the time he had completed his manuscript in 1934, Mr. McCoy died. Lawrence C. Wroth, librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, took care of the work, and writes an excellent introduction to the book. A number of title pages of single relations are reproduced, and toward the end of the volume a synoptic table is found, showing the place and date of each publication, the edition variant, and variations of each of the relations.

INSTITUTE OF JESUIT HISTORY PUBLICATIONS

The Institute of Jesuit History of Loyola University, Chicago, has recently issued the first of its publications. The work is a series of studies from documents, entitled *Some La Salle Journeys,* by Jean Delanglez, S. J. This is to be followed by the publication of *The Journal of Jean Cavelier,* which is now in press. The complete French text of the journal is to be printed side by side with an English translation by Father Delanglez. The two works are part of a new appraisal of the early history of the Middle West. The findings of the author are new and in fields generally considered closed. The first volume considers the journeys La Salle reputedly made to the Ohio and Mississippi and his expedition to Matagorda Bay, thus covering the first and last phases of his activities in North America. The second is a critical edition of the complete journal of La Salle's brother Jean. The scholarship exhibited in both cases is outstanding.

VARIOUS BOOKS

A work on the inhabitants of the Mississippi Valley in prehistoric times is in process under the direction of the archaeologists of the University of Chicago. The first of a series of books on this general field appeared in 1937, entitled *Rediscovering Illinois: Archaeological Explorations In and Around Fulton County,* by Fay-Cooper Cole (University of Chicago Press, Chicago). Newspaper releases have already described some of the findings for non-technical readers, and, following this sane lead, the author introduces and concludes his work in a manner intelligible to the average student.

Those who are interested in our Government's treatment of the Indians of the West in its less just aspects and who wish a good account of Indian ways and customs, will be satisfied with the book *Chief Joseph: The Biography of a Great Indian,* by Chester A. Fee (New York, 1936). This is the story, told without scholarly documentation, of the great Nez Percés chieftain. *The Coming of Empire, or, Two Thousand Miles in Texas on Horseback,* by Colonel Nathaniel A. Taylor, was a famed journalistic writing in the Seventies of the last century, telling of Indians, cowboys, desperadoes, and a land of struggle; it was published again in 1936. Some good stories were revived in *Their Weight in Wildcats: Tales of the Frontier,* by James Daugherty (Boston, 1936). Old favorites like Johnny Appleseed, Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, and Davy Crockett come back to life.

ON HISPANIC AMERICA

As a continuation of his *Colonial Hispanic America,* Dr. Charles E. Chapman wrote another textbook, *Republican Hispanic America: A History* (Macmillan, 1937). The first ten chapters, written in his usual facile and clever style, appear to be general, a prelude as it were to the second and larger portion of the book devoted to a National Histories Appendix. But the chapters are packed with information, even though it is administered amiably. The author is extremely brief in his exposition of events easily found in other texts, and rather inclines to amplify less familiar affairs. His essay on authorities directs students to copious reading material. One such amplification is A Curtis Wilgus' edition of *Argentina, Brazil and Chile Since Independence,* in which the history of the first is by J. Fred Rippy, the second by Percy Martin, and the third by Isaac J. Cox. Unfortunately for students, the edition of this excellent work is exhausted and out of print. The section in it written by Dr. Rippy is to our way of thinking far superior and of much more value than the nationalist *A History of Argentina,* by Ricardo Levene. Translated and edited by William Spence Robertson, upon whose work no criticism is intended, this latter is one of the Inter-American Historical Series in process of publication at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The idea in printing these works is to give United Statesans the histories of various republics as individual nationals write it; fair enough, it appears, but as far as the ideological interpretations are concerned, bordering on the ephemeral, for who knows what the next national writer will conceive the history of his land to be?

David R. Moore attempts "to outline conditions in Latin America as they are now," in his recent text *A History of Latin America* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1938). Little of the philosophy found notably in Chapman's work, mentioned above, comes into the work; the style is satisfactory, probably more satisfactory for the average freshman or sophomore in college. Still another work comes to hand, *The Republics of South America,* a report by a study group of members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (New York, London, Toronto, 1937). Time has been lacking for a detailed study of this work, which has been heralded widely. There is a certain curiosity about the price, which is considerably higher in this country than it is in England. This book along with the very readable *Dom Pedro II, the Magnanimous,* by Mary W. Williams may be reviewed in a future number.

Book Reviews

Financial Development of the United States. By W. J. Schultz and M. R. Craine. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937. Pp. 757. $3.75.

When the English Banking Act of 1844 was passed Parliament did not foresee the dominant part bank money or checks would play in the monetary system of the kingdom. Silver and gold, real money, had been paid the builders of England's cathedrals, universities, and palaces; silver and gold had been stored in the chests of the aristocracy and tradesmen; real money had been paid the laborer, and with real money his debts and the debts of the king were paid. By the middle of the nineteenth century England had become the greatest industrial country on earth and the richest in all history. The foundations of her vast structure had been cemented with silver and gold.

The astonishing industrial, commercial, and cultural development of our country did not begin until near the end of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century finished products of this country were sold in the markets of all lands, and at the end of the War the United States was the creditor nation of the world. This country had more monetary gold than any other country, but the enormous amount of gold was insignificant in comparison with the enormous amount of purchasing power the nation spent and loaned during the War. It was insignificant, too, in comparison with the sums spent on government works, churches, asylums, hospitals, colleges, and other private enterprises from the beginning of the century to the beginning of the War. The development and expansion of the limited resources of nature, so that they might to some satisfying extent keep pace with unlimited economic wants, were not paid for with silver and gold but with bank money or checks. The history of the financial, industrial, and cultural development of the United States is largely a history of credit expansion.

There is no need for the authors of this book to direct attention to their extension of the meaning of public finance so as to include the mechanism of exchange. The old definition is too narrow and should be rejected without remark. Our whole social system is founded on a monetary basis, and the center stone of that base is the bank. The history of banking is really the history of the financial development of the United States. The authors trace the history of banking sympathetically, and, for textbook purposes, adequately. The American banking system is similar to the English and Commonwealth systems. Fundamentally it is the same system. The English and Canadian banks weathered the fierce storms of the years of depression. Not one English or Canadian bank failed. Why, then, were there so many bank failures in this country between 1920 and 1933? Obviously, first because there were too many banks, and second, because the banks were not managed as they were in England and Canada.

In finance, management is of supreme importance. And generally the financial development of the United States has been well managed. Alexander Hamilton set the pace. Nicholas Biddle, when he was not harassed by politicians, was a great and successful financier. The authors properly describe in greater detail than what might be expected in a book of this character, the financial career of J. Pierpont Morgan. Morgan stands out as one of the great organizing financiers of the world. Some of his methods may be considered ruthless, but ruthlessness was an almost necessary characteristic of the capitalistic promoter. The United States Steel Corporation is an enduring monument to his extraordinary financial abilities. An the great corporation is also one of the most important factors in the industrial development of the country.

But although in general the financial development of the country has been well managed there has been room for improvement in the management of banks. The banking laws of 1935 and following years have already done much to improve the methods of banking. Many believe the Government has gone too far in bank control and bank supervision, but all admit that more rigid bank inspection was necessary. The authors bring this out clearly, and their description of bank conditions during the years preceding and following the collapse in 1929 is fair and convincing. The work of compiling a history of the financial development of the United States, and, indeed, of any great nation, is most laborious. An enormous amount of statistical information must be accumulated, sifted and presented in an intelligible form. The authors have done their work well. The book gives a better picture of the actual development of the country from the financial point of view than most financial histories. The human elements are made as prominent as the monetary elements. The periods of financial development are clearly distinguished. The book is well adapted for classroom purposes and may be recommended to instructors as a work that will lighten their labors in a most difficult field.

ENEAS B. GOODWIN

Loyola University

Oliver Pollock: Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot. By James Alton James. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. Pp. xiii+376. $4.

"From the opening of the Revolution, my soul panted for the success of the American arms, nor could I omit any opportunity of manifesting the sincerity and ardor of those feelings, when it was in my power to be useful either to the public interest or to any individuals who had embarked their fortunes and their lives in an enterprise so hazardous and so glorious." These words of Pollock are the first lines of the opening chapter of this book, and we find near the conclusion of the last chapter: "But his life must be recalled as that of a patriot whose eagerness to serve and willingness to sacrifice for his country have not been surpassed in our history." What falls between bears out those statements, as well as that of the blurb, which declares: "Pollock provided the financial support for George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Northwest for the United States, and in so doing made the greatest money contribution of any individual to the Revolutionary cause."

No man is better equipped for writing on Revolutionary times in the West than Dr. James, whose admirable *Life of George Rogers Clark* has won so much well-merited commendation. The great body of the present work is devoted to those times, though Pollock is skillfully kept in the foreground at every shifting of the scene. The author has for years past devoted himself to his chosen field and has gleaned every available documentary item pertaining to his present subject. Much of the background had already been prepared by his personal research and contributions in article and book form. Suffice it then to say of the author that his latest production yields no whit in its many excellences to his earlier work.

Outside of documentary accounts, a Protestant minister, Reverend Horace G. Hayden, in the *Magazine of American History* and in a biographical sketch written in 1883, was the first writer to call attention to the extraordinary part played by the Catholic patriot in winning American freedom. After his days, articles touching on Pollock's enterprise have appeared from time to time in newspapers and historical reviews, especially those of Dr. James and Bodley Temple in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* and Joseph J. Thompson and Margaret B. Downing in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review.* In 1937, shortly after the appearance of Dr. James' book, William F. Mullaney, O. M. I., published his master's dissertation in *Historical Records and Studies (XXVIII)* under the title "Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financeer of the American Revolution," a work of seventy-two pages. Both these recent authors are justified in their respective choices of title. It is no reflection on either of these patient searchers that there are not a few, even important items regarding their subject still unknown. Both take it for granted that Pollock was a convert to Catholicity, but there is little else known of his Catholic life. His first wife was Protestant, though her family name was O'Brien. The old Scottish clan of Pollock kept the faith of its fathers down to the fall of the Stuarts, at least, at which time the branch that had gone to Ireland turned Protestant and changed the name to Polk. The question arises as to whether the Pollocks, as distinct from the Polks, were not Catholics when they arrived in America. Later, the families of Oliver's brothers in Pennsylvania were Protestant. Pollock spent the last years of his life in Pinckneyville, Mississippi, and of this long period the historians have no word to tell us, except that he died there on December 17 or 18, 1823. "Careful search," writes Dr. James, "has not revealed the exact place of his burial."

Lawrence J. Kenny

St. Louis University

Tales from the French Folk-lore of Missouri. By J. M. Carrière. Evanston and Chicago, Northwestern University Studies in Humanities No. 1, 1937. Pp. viii+354. $4.

The object in collecting these stories was to save from oblivion the folklore tales of the creoles of Missouri, and to use them as a basis for a further study of comparative folklore. The tales, seventy-three in number, are printed in French as they were told to the author by two *conteurs* of Old Mines, Missouri. In the district of St. Genevieve, there are about six hundred French families, the descendants of the pioneers who settled at the end of the seventeenth century on the east bank of the Mississippi, at Kaskaskias, Prairie du Rocher, Fort de Chartres. This ethnic group remained isolated, and acquired and retained the provincialism which is the result of such isolation. But, notes the author in the introduction, great transformations have taken place during the last ten or fifteen years, owing to the automobile, the radio, and the moving pictures. American ways are undermining more and more the old French background, especially with the younger people; French language and traditions are rapidly passing. Besides these external causes, the decline of the Missouri French is to be attributed to its limitations and to the cultural level of those who speak it, and the lack of French schooling of any sort. The decay could perhaps have been retarded if the custom of preaching in French in the Church had not been discontinued about forty years ago. An audience in the vicinity of Lafayette, Louisiana, some years ago, reacted in a similar way to the present reviewer's address, as the congregation of Old Mines reacted to the sermon of Father Van Tourenhout, and for the same reason as that given by Dr. Carrière.

Dr. Carrière found as informants two *conteurs* whose memory are typical of such narrators. They were able to repeat a folk tale using the same words, the same pauses, and intonation as they had previously employed. This phenomenon, constantly observed where tradition from mouth to mouth is the medium of transmission of the events of the past, is one of the reasons for accepting as trustworthy evidence, at least the substance of the contents of a certain class of folk tales and legends. With regard to the time when the pioneers crossed the Mississippi to found a permanent settlement on the west bank of the river, the author gives the date as 1735. This date is commonly accepted, although it rests on very flimsy documentary evidence and is contradicted by other evidence, which sets the date nearly fifteen years later. The detail, however, changes in no wise the obvious value of the book. The author promises a study based on these tales, which will, if we judge by this example of his industry, be of great use to others than folklorists, for the information supplied by such studies goes much deeper, and gives a better insight into the past than mere recorded history.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

Loyola University

The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America. By Louise Callan. New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1937. Pp. xvii+809. $5.

The best review of this book has been written by the critic most competent to write it. It is largely a story of the Frontier, and more specifically of religion on the Frontier. In this field no Catholic pen, nor any other pen for that matter, has done work of more consistently high calibre than that of Gilbert J. Garraghan, the announcement of whose three volumes on the Jesuits in the Middle United States was recently made. The book under review is similar to Father Garraghan's work, though somewhat less ambitious in scope. It was fitting, therefore, that he should write its Introduction. If the reader had his comments before him, there would be no need for this review.

"All the constituents of history writing at its best," writes Father Garraghan, "are here put to account: wide research, accurate documentation, reasoned interpretation, agreeable presentation." He calls Macaulay to witness that the Church of Rome has a place in her system for women who consecrate their lives to the service of Christ and the care of souls.

He concludes with the remark, significant and authoritative in the context, that: "Any future general history of education in the United States or Canada making claim to adequacy of treatment must put to account the fund of educational data set out in this volume at once with scholarly precision and literary excellence of presentation."

But if the book is a contribution to the history of education, this is only a part of its story. A remarkable group of women, captained by a remarkable saint whose qualities of heart, mind, and will have left an enduring impress on their Society, rose out of the débris, material and moral, left by the French Revolution to devote themselves to the revival of religion in France. In 1818 one of this group, Rose Philippine Duchesne, whose heroicity in virtue has already received the official stamp of Rome, led their first mission band to the banks of the Mississippi. There, at the gateway of the western plains, they shared the hardships and the exalted enthusiasm of the dynamic, crude, and raucous Frontier. Their early foundations were retarded, and ennobled, by debt, privation, and suffering. But they possessed a calm courage, constancy, and cheerfulness, which drew inspiration and strength from an inner source. To allude to their devotion to the Heart of Christ is no mere pious reflection. In fact, the omission of this essential feature would be decidedly unhistorical.

From St. Louis the Society spread north, south, east, and west, to either coast, to Canada, Mexico, the Antilles and, eventually to Tokio. But running through the whole vivid and dramatic narrative there is an important historical fact which is nowhere explicitly stated. It is the dependence of the infant and adolescent Church in America upon the mission spirit of Europe and particularly France. The men and women who labored to Christianize and refine our advancing civilization were recruited largely in Europe. The material means indispensable to their successful apostolate, and to their existence itself, came from the uncalculating charity of the distant homeland. Need we pause to reassess the overstressed economic interpretations of Frontier life?

Mother Callan's book will be read with a justifiable pride in the closed circle of the Sacred Heart Alumnae, where it will be regarded as a family history. But it should have a much wider appeal. To the complete outsider it will be a wholesome revelation. It is, however, among the friendly rivals who are engaged in similar work, but with a slightly different background, that it should be most welcome. It may serve as a model and an inspiration to others who have the ability and the opportunity to produce the monographs we need if a definitive history of the Catholic Church in America is ever to be written. The publisher, incidentally, is to be complimented on a volume that is worth its price.

R. CORRIGAN

St. Louis University

The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806. By John Bartlet Brebner. New York, Macmillan, 1937. Pp. xvi+502, with maps. $4.

Professor Brebner has made this volume a truly great book. He has followed the classic statement of Macaulay on the writing of history, as a combination of poetry and philosophy, an amalgam most difficult to reach in our modern, scientifically-minded world. His fine use of language, his kindly yet penetrating eye for truth, his thorough knowledge of the factual elements and evidence: all these are built into the structural unity of an artistic whole such as few writers attain.

The subject matter has long been known in the various narratives left by the pioneers of exploration in North America. Discoverers and conquerors, traders, statesmen, and missionaries, all took part in the grand romance of finding and opening up this continent. Historians have edited their journals, built texts on their story, taught collegians and directed graduates along the rich lines of research in their adventures and accomplishments. Meantime everyone awaited the artist who would finally weave this narrative into an enduring piece of literature, somewhat as Parkman did for segments of that long epic of the founders of America.

Pages might well be written on the book in hand, but this reviewer feels that he will best fulfill his task by inviting the reader to his own personal search and joy in absorbing the fine narrative of Brebner. The tour will take him through a wonderful epoch, the march of heroic men over all the virgin American world. The guide is highly qualified and gifted with the rare power of story turned in abiding literature. The printer offers attractive format in excellent binding. Men who appreciate the art of writing humane history will long praise this permanent member in our society of great books.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University

Victoria's Guardian Angel: A Study of Baron Stockmar. By Pierre Crabitès. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1938. Pp. ix+289. $3.

The literature on Victoria and her era has developed tremendously since Strachey's biography, and the controversial nature of the present volume foreshadows continued interpretations of the "great queen." The "Guardian Angel" of the early Victorian era was the German nobleman doctor, Baron Christian Friedrich Stockmar. This man of mystery at Windsor has been familiar to students of Victoria, but nationalistic censorship concerning the queen's early years of feminine frivolity and capriciousness has minimized the general knowledge of this prime molder of royal character. Judge Crabitès, who has recently written on Egypt, Czechoslovakia, Henry VIII's divorce, and Spain, seeks herein to rehabilitate the prestige and influence of "Stocky" as the determining spirit of Victorianism.

Stockmar first appeared in England as the friend and personal physician of the Coburg Leopold, husband of Princess Charlotte and later King of the Belgians. Thus the German doctor became the confidant and adviser of Leopold's favorite niece, the queen. Until his death, thirty years later, the alien stood behind Victoria entering into the major decisions at Court. Impeccably honest, disinterested of fame or personal honor, familiarly acquainted with the leading politicians of the day, the baron had his prestige mightily increased by paternalism toward the royal consort, Albert, in whose selection the doctor enjoyed a predominant, as well as an official, rôle. Albert's influence on Victoria is general knowledge, but Stockmar's advisement of Albert is not as universally recognized. The author contends that the most vital accomplishment of Victoria's "Guardian Angel" was the salvation, at a critical period, of the English monarchy, which had suffered a definite moral degradation. Insisting ". . . that the English machine works smoothly and well only when the Sovereign is upright and truthful and that when he has been insincere, mendacious and wicked, it has creaked and fouled and jolted to within an ace of coming to a deadlock . . .," Stockmar's advice caused Victoria personally to reform and to establish a moral tone within the court life which the nation might imitate. This royal and official adherence to a narrow morality, which we moderns characterize as "Victorianism," saved the monarchy for England, and the recent abdication of an English king is thereby traceable to the baron's influence. The educational program devised for the Prince of Wales, Edward, was the other pre-eminent accomplishment of the "Angel."

The author's contention regarding Stockmar's importance runs contrary to Benson's emphasis upon Victoria's ability of independent decision. Developed mainly from the autobiographical *Denkwürdigkeiten,* the work is supplemented by references to contemporary letters and diaries, and to the better biographies of the leading personalities. It might be maintained that the text consists of too many and too lengthy quotations, nevertheless, the entire work is characterized by readability, simplicity, and general accuracy. Although a volume to be considered by students of Victoria, the study is not a valid discussion of the Victorian Era. It is primarily concerned with the Court, its intrigues and personages. The reader looks in vain for any reference to, or council on, the greater movements: capitalism, industrial change and conflict, chartism, labor reform, free trade. Finally this work, by emphasizing one adviser's contributions, unduly minimizes the other numerous influences surrounding Victoria.

EDWARD P. LILLY

Loyola University

The History of [*Lower*] *California.* By Don Francisco Javier Clavijero, S. J. Translated and edited by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray. Stanford University Press, California. 1938. Pp. xxvii+413. $4.

In supplying the students and interested public of the United States and Great Britain with this English translation of a rare work on one phase of the achievement of Catholic missionaries of Spanish America the authors have rendered a distinct service. With the possible exception of the larger and earlier publication of Miguel Venegas, Clavijero's volume is the most useful single work on the history of Lower California that appeared before the present century. Although it deals with a comparatively unimportant section of Spain's vast American empire, for the careful and judicious reader it will shed much light on the whole theme of the mission's place in the Spanish colonial system as well as on the mind and spirit of the religious workers on every frontier.

Great as has been their service to scholarship in the English-speaking world, the translators have fallen short of the best standards in editorial achievement. In the opinion of the reviewer, their introduction should have presented three things: (1) a concise and accurate sketch of Lower California under the Jesuits, (2) a similar sketch of the life of Clavijero, and (3) a careful description of the bibliography of this Jesuit period of Baja

California history. Of these three, only the first and second were attempted, and these were presented imperfectly.

Among the several errors in their introduction, the following may be noted in this review. Father Nobrega of Brazilian fame appears as Father Nombreza; Father Azevado and his followers were not killed by the Brazilian Indians, for they never reached Brazil, and they died in 1570 instead of 1579; the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil in 1759, not in 1768; and the members of the Company reached Mexico first in 1572 instead of 1571. It should also be added that the account of the studies and teaching of Clavijero is rather confused.

The volume contains two useful maps, one taken from Clavijero's history and the other drawn presumably by the translators. The use of both the grave and the acute accent in this edition leaves the reader somewhat puzzled. Some explanation of this usage should have been given in the preface or in a footnote.

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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

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VOLUME 20 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 9 NUMBER 3

Father Baegert and His *Nachrichten*

Anyone interested in the colonial history of the southwest coast must give due consideration to the writings of Father Jacob Baegert. In his descriptions of the remote American peninsula of Lower California, written for the immediate enlightenment of Europeans, the sturdy missionary brought together an abundant fund of information for posterity, gathered during his sojourn of seventeen years. Most illuminating to students has been his *Nachrichten,* which was published in 1772 and later republished, re-edited, and translated in part in other than the German language.[1] Therein will be found the views and feelings of a European missionary laboring at his calling in a far off province. Therein will also be found ethnological data about the inhabitants of early California and information about the country, as well as numerous odd tales and curious events of bygone ages. But, when the historian tries to gather data concerning the father himself who worked and thus wrote, and when he wishes to pry into the more personal affairs of Baegert's life, he notices the lack of material and is blocked by a definite anonymity.

Most authorities give the place of his birth as Schlettstadt in Upper Alsace, and there is unanimity with regard to the year in which it took place, 1717.[2] He was admitted to the novitiate of the Society of Jesus on September 27, 1736, and became a member of the Upper Rhine Province. He was sent to California in 1751 to co-operate with the other Jesuits in charge of that field, and there he served without interruption until the year of the expulsion of the Jesuits from all the provinces and cities of

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[1] Jacob J. Baegert, *Nachrichten von der Americanischen Halbinsel Californien: mit einem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten,* Mannheim, 1772.

[2] Augustin de Backer, *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus,* Liége, 1869, I, 491, offers November 22, 1717, as the date of his birth. The later edition of Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* Paris, 1890, I, 759, gives December 22, 1717.

New Spain in 1767. He was among the sixteen who were deported from California.[3] He died probably in December, 1772, at Neuburg in Bavaria, shortly after his book was published. These rather meager data are all that are known of Father Baegert.

From a letter he wrote to his brother on September 11, 1752,[4] we learn that he worked in the mission, often called St. Aloysius Gonzaga, to which the Spanish applied the name San Luis Gonzaga. In his book he preserves his anonymity by not even mentioning the name of his mission, which, however, can be easily identified by the geographical position he describes. According to this, his mission was situated near the twenty-fifth degree of latitude, thirty miles from the Pacific Ocean, opposite the Bay of Santa Magdalena. The fact of the anonymous authorship of the book, so clearly proven to be his by comparison with his earlier letter, is a very interesting problem and may be a key to the situation of the author at the time when he wrote his book. As one of the many Jesuits deprived of the field of labor and rewarded for effort and service by false denunciations, he set himself to writing the story of his seventeen years in California. The *Nachrichten* was intended to contribute news and at the same time Baegert's share of true information to a curious public in Europe, which, easily deceived and generally gullible about affairs in so distant a place, had come to believe the tales of applause-seeking adventurers who recounted the wonders of California. Among the number of "idle liars" chosen by Baegert for a tongue lashing was a member of his own order, not named but well known to persons interested because of the success of his often translated work.[5] This Jesuit writer was thought at the time to be Miguel Venegas, though recent research proved him to be Andrés Marcos Burriel.[6] Baegert spared the author of the *Noticia de la California* no criticism in his exposition of what he considered falsehoods.

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[3] An account of this was written by Peter M. Dunne, "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, 1767," in MID-AMERICA, XIX (January, 1937), 3-30.

[4] Father Jacob Baegert, S. J. *Brief eines Elsaessers aus Californien in Nord-amerika an seinen Bruder in Schlettstadt 1752 von Pater Jacob Baegert* d, G. J. Aus dem Patriotischen Elsaesser, Strassburg und Colmar, 1777. Californien, in der Mission des H. Aloysii den 11ten September 1752.

[5] *Noticia de la California y de su conquista temporal, y espiritual, hasta el Tiempo Presente. Sacada de la Historia Manuscrita, Formada en México año de 1739, por el Padre Miguel Venegas; y de Otras Noticias, y relaciones antiguas, y modernas,* Madrid, 1757, 3 volumes. An English version and second edition appeared in London in 1759 and 1764 respectively. Translations from this, more or less complete, were published in Dutch (Harlen, 1761, 2 volumes), in French (Paris, 1767, 3 volumes), in German (Lemgo, Lippe, 1769, 1 volume).

[6] Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: the Spanish Period,* New York, 1925, 492.

Especially convinced of the uselessness of long introductions and lengthy discussions, embellishments, and lists, which would only make the book more expensive (Venegas' book was in three volumes), Father Baegert warned the reader that a little digression into the moral of his story must be forgiven him. His calling and profession would furnish the excuse for this, and for his mistakes in grammar and spelling seventeen years among the heathen savages were to be blamed. There is one interesting little phrase to be noticed in this connection, which states that he might spell some of the words wrongly for lack of practice, but that he intended deliberately to spell some of them "wrong" according to modern rules, for he thought these absurd and opposed them as unjustified innovations. The stubborn father preferred to spell seventeen years behind the times.

Father Baegert begins his book with the following sentence: "Conditions are so wretched in California that it is not worth the effort to begin to write about this country." He then tells the reader that he must expect neither great wonders of nature nor special incidents, nor occurrences of consequence. California, he maintains, is not the land to produce the last named, and it has not pleased God to put into it any of the former. Thus, his introduction sounds like a war trumpet heralding a vigorous protest to previous literature, and yet the reader, so coldly discouraged, is caught by the technique of the author. Baegert knew how to insure the curiosity of his reader. One was apt to be curious when told in effect, there is not a thing worth reading in these pages about California; he would wonder what the author was up to who thus put 358 printed pages in his hand. The challenge to read was combined with the temptation to find out what the author was attempting to prove in opposition to the statements of a fellow missionary. This belligerent type of approach has many a modern adherent.

Father Baegert gives as his authority and source his own experience during seventeen years of labor in the land, refusing to rely upon the word of any other, much less upon the forementioned book, which he had read long ago and had entirely forgotten. This is promise of an interesting personal account without glorification, and the reader is not disappointed in it.

The book is divided into three parts. The first treats of the topography, physical geography, geology, and natural history of the peninsula; the second is about the inhabitants, their life and customs; and the third gives briefly the history of the missions. There are added two appendices of "false information" in which the author refutes, sentence by sentence, the exaggerated reports that had been previously published about California, being particularly severe on Venegas' *Noticia de la California,* which, by the way, was supposed to have been forgotten.

Each of his chapters furnishes ample opportunity to the author for comparing conditions in California with those surrounding him in Europe at the time when he was writing his work. In a Tacitean fashion he rebukes the luxury and extravagance of his countrymen and praises the simplicity of the savage. This attitude is often rather hard to visualize, since the rudeness of the "extravagance" on the one hand, and the doubtful merit of the savage "simplicity" of the Indians on the other appear very rustic in comparison with the classic example of Tacitus. And, in all respect to the serious endeavor of the writer to understand the times and circumstances under which he wrote, the reader of today will find a smile awaiting him between the lines.

What in the earlier letter of Baegert to his brother strikes us as homesickness, cropping out especially in his references to the woods of Hagenau and the rivers and cattle herds of Alsace, becomes pity for a country so desolate and sterile as the California desert of his book. The disappointment apparent in the letter of 1752 could not have been caused entirely by erroneous hopes, since little was known to him about California prior to his arrival. The Venegas-Burriel description was published only in 1757. Yet Baegert's earlier unsympathetic account was just as strongly worded as that in his later book. He was, it seems clear, under no delusions with respect to the land either at the beginning or at the end of his missionary career. To him the strange destinies of this forlorn people was a source of wonderment, and so was the foolishness—with due respect to the Christian motive—of the king and nobles in spending so much money on California. Still, his *Nachrichten* added a certain note of resentment toward the land, and this change had been brought about most probably by the lies and persecution which came in return for honest labor. The distinct purpose of the book was to tell the truth, in which Father Baegert saw the best weapon of defense in the controversy between the Jesuits and their sovereign. A truthful description of the land and people would clear the Society of accusations of self-aggrandizement. This was indeed an excellent opportunity for a man whose spirit had been trained by years of labor, disappointment, success, failure, and final persecution and exile, and who, still convinced of the value of his work, which his belief never let him doubt, wanted to tell the simple truth as the best evidence and a lasting record of the advancement of civilization.

About Father Jacob's trip to California we have not only the interesting phases recorded in his letter, which was discovered in Bohemia a short time ago, but also the interpretation of the episode which makes this trip a permanent monument in the pages of the *Rim of Christendom* by Herbert E. Bolton.[7] Father Baegert was prepared by this trip through the wilderness and deserted countryside for the "thorny heap of stones and the pathless, waterless rock, rising between two oceans" which constituted California to him. This province, 750 miles in length, and 50 miles wide, which was almost as wide as the entire Swabian and Bavarian districts, the size of a truly respectable principality if judged by geographic extent, seemed to him desolate. And he assures his reader that the Catholic king would not express his favor by investing anyone with California as a fief, and that a village of a hundred peasants would be of more value to one who seeks the riches of this world than the position of prince or Hospodar[8] in California. Reflecting this summary of his impressions, Father Jacob arrives at the conclusion that California is without exception the most miserable country under the sun, or, if an equally miserable or worse one was ever discovered by the Argonauts, then California was used by the Almighty Creator as a model for making it.

However bad the country seemed to him, there was a kind sun shining throughout the year and bringing warm weather, and this lovely warm climate constitutes the author's only occasion for a favorable comment. He tells us of the story which was then current among those interested in determining the origin of the name California, that it was supposedly derived from the Latin *Calida fornax,* or warm oven. Although he does not agree as to the deduction of the word, he thinks that it is at least a close description. The scarcity of rain in this "hot oven" made him believe that the heavens were close to California. The few standing waters of varying sizes are described as of different natures, some green with putrefaction, some well salted, others bright and clean, and all of them serving for drinking purposes. It is in these "cellars" that the Californians draw their Rhine and Moselle wine.

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[7] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom, a Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer,* New York, 1936, 235-238.

[8] A title born formerly by the vassal princes of Moldavia and Wallachia.

After this description, it is not astonishing to learn in the next chapter that the country is bare and the soil sterile, that no shade is to be found any place except behind a mountain or rock or in a grave. This was hard luck for the missionaries who had to move about so much in the fulfillment of their priestly duties. Around the few rare oases of which Father Baegert knows, he tells us that the vegetation was extraordinary. Wherever on those few moist patches a seed was planted, marvelous growth was the result.

Thus passing to the growing things, Baegert gives much information. There is nothing in California worthy of the name tree. Brushes, bushes, shrubbery, and thorns are the only plants that can stand the everlasting heat, can survive on rocks, and live on little water. The grass, growing only after the rain, is much too thin to be cut for hay. All the horses and mules, donkeys, cows, and oxen run about the whole year, day and night, in the open lands, upon the mountains, and in the valleys seeking the grass. Such is their sustenance until they are needed or until they die of hunger. For human nourishment the sweet and sour *Pitahaya* constitutes the chief fruit. In fact, a well-grown fruit of this kind would be suitable for any king's table we are told. And for the Indians, the time of the harvest of the *Pitahaya* is the time of prosperity; they eat and grow fat, and they sing and dance more than usual.

Baegert switches over to the animal kingdom of California. The number is not very large, as might be expected in a country too poor for elephants, tigers, or camels. But the hare, coyote, wildcat, leopard, and wild goat live there on a scanty diet. These goats, in fact, had a curious habit of throwing themselves, when pursued, from the highest mountain, landing on their horns without harm to themselves. Such wonders were told to Father Baegert, who admits never having seen the phenomena, and it is hard to judge whether he is sorry that he cannot quite believe the miracle or whether California does not seem to him worthy of any miracles. The latter interpretation appears more probable since no miracle can surpass the horror of the pest of snakes, insects, and grasshoppers, which he takes such great pains to describe in minute detail. One of the fathers, Ignacio Thirs,[9] even went so far as to compose "elegant verses" upon the subject of the disgusting reptiles, we are told.

After discussing the flora and fauna, Father Baegert goes one step farther in his second part, introducing to us the inhabitants of California. A long discussion on the numbers of the Indians, not only of California, but of all North America, is in its detail more an attack on Burriel's statements than an independent study. The many small tribes in Lower California, none of which had more than five hundred members and all of whom spoke varying tongues, were difficult for the missionaries to handle. It was therefore necessary to maintain the fifteen missions existing at the time Father Baegert worked on the peninsula, if the Christianization and the civilization were to be of any success. The Indians, living scattered over the whole territory, were not willing to concentrate anywhere or to settle. Nor would an attempt to settle them have been possible since there could be no livelihood provided for a large number at any one mission in California. Father Baegert, observing the existence of these semi-nomads who lived ever and always under the open sky, spending their entire lives hunting, eating, and sleeping, wondered where such people came from. Nothing in it seemed capable of attracting any human being to this desolate spot. Baegert could not find a satisfying answer to the riddle of native origin and existence, and, upon questioning the Indians as to where they came from, he learned that they believed they had come from a bird, which did not help him much.

Describing their ways of life, he tells about the possessions and household goods of the Californians. The "dear ground" is for them their dining and card table, their chair, their couch and bedroom, kitchen and dining hall; the harsh cliffs and mountains are their curtains and tapestries, and their fathom-deep mirrors and mirror rooms are the ever standing marshes and puddles.

Here may be easily found Baegert's reason for calling Rousseau a "wretched fanatic." Coming from nearly two decades of work in California, he had of course no use for the rococo spirit of Versailles, Sans-Souci, Nymphenburg, or Miramar. He had even less appreciation and no sympathy for an *Émile.* He had known the savage man, the *Émile,* and he was by no means ready to turn back the clock of the civilization of mankind, nor was he likely to forget the message of Him who said "Follow me, I am the light." Backwardness was nothing ideal to Father Baegert, and knowledge of the actual condition of portions of human kind and of man's weakness and potentialities made him frown upon the laced cleverness of the rationalists as well as upon the enthusiasm of the new romanticists.

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[9] Thürsch, the German spelling, from the Bohemian Gometz, was in charge of the mission, Santiago. See Bancroft, *History of North Mexican States and Texas,* San Francisco, 1884, 468, note 17.

Polygamy, clannishness, strife, and struggle with an unkind nature made the Californians a people whose characteristics he summed up in the following words: stupid, clumsy, boorish, slovenly, impudent, thankless, shy, lazy, gossiping, and addicted to lying. Noble savages, indeed!

To teach them the Lord's prayer, of which nine words were lacking from their vocabulary, was a task undertaken for God and with His inspiration. Labor and learning, enthusiasm and patience were put into it with a hope of saving a few more souls from damnation. By-products of his teaching and mastery of the native tongues turn up in unexpected places. His written preservation, for instance, of a whole verb and other examples of the Waicuri language, which neither Clavijero[10] nor Burriel attempted, is documentary evidence of serious endeavor and hard labor and is of great value for the ethnologist of today.

The customs of the Indians in their family relationships and their mode of living, if such a fight for mere existence may be called, were given accurately and truthfully. And here it may be stated that, whatever criticism of the general attitude of the author one may offer, there is no reason to doubt his seriousness at any time. From the level of a mere controversial pamphlet his book rises to a document based on seventeen years of practical work under difficulties and with modest success. In his endeavor to paint a true picture and to refute the ideas of Burriel, he may have leaned a little too much to the negative side. Yet, in view of the circumstances of a misunderstanding century, of Jansenist attack, of reaction, and of the growth of new ideas little comprehended by one who spent years of his life on a project that was then questioned in its entirety, his endeavor to be serious is easily recognized. Especially in his descriptive pages does the author provide us with data of real interest.

In his third part a short history of the missions is given. The coming of the Spanish, Father Salvatierra's work in the founding of Loreto and Father Kino's struggles and successes, better known to us from other sources, are sympathetically related. In describing the zeal and the work of his brethren, Baegert finds the best means of refuting the unjust charges of the hostile groups. In his pages the generosity of the founders finds an honorable mention, for he felt that they should be mentioned "out of a sense of thankfulness and for the sake of glory which is owing to the esteemed founders and benefactors."[11]

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[10] Francisco Javier Clavigero, *Storia della California,* Venezia, 1789. This work has recently been translated into English by Sara E. Lake and A. A. Gray, *The History of* [*Lower*] *California,* Stanford University Press, California, 1938.

Nothing particularly new to the historian is to be found in those pages. What makes that part of Baegert's book worth reading is the development of such an enterprise of the Jesuit order as that of the small unit on the California peninsula. It mirrors in detail what had been going on on a large scale in all of New Spain. And the growth of this plant of European civilization on the soil of a far off province, up to the moment of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, is one instance where the whole can be understood by the analysis of a part.

Not only does the history seem much like that of the mainland missions, but the administration of these fifteen missions was similar. The revenues, the money spent, the accounts kept by the procurator in Mexico City, the supplies sent annually, all this is familiar ground to the student of the Spanish period in Mexico. One phase of particular interest, however, is found in the passage where Baegert describes and defends the relatively luxurious church ornamentations and the wealth of precious things in the mission churches. He tells us how in this wretched country there was so few means of conveying a real spirit of worship to the neophytes that the missionaries took pains to buy with the little money left over from their allowance, or sometimes saved at the sacrifice of personal needs, the most beautiful silver and gold plate, embroideries and tapestries, and new vestments thus to dignify the service. He states that some of the California churches might well stand comparison with fine European churches, and he seizes upon the opportunity to reproach the European priesthood with lack of pride in their churches and neglect of the service. He comments especially upon the untiring labor of Father Javier Bischoff of Bohemia, who taught the Indians to sing, which music, he said, did not sound bad. It seemed only just to him at this point to digress a little into a description of the joy of the Jesuits in the acquisition of every little thing won by their labor for the ornamentation of their churches and services. In the 25th Psalm one reads "Domine dilexi decorem domus tuae," (Lord I have loved the beauty of Thy house), and he concludes, "Let us leave to the Lutherans and Calvinists their empty sacrament tables."

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[11] Of fifteen missions six were founded by the Marquis de la Villa Puente. The list of missions is given as follows, different from Burriel-Venegas in a few instances: San José del Cabo, 1720; Santiago, 1721; Todos Santos, 1720; Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Sur, 1721; San Luis Gonzaga, 1757; San Javier, 1699; Loreto, 1697; San José de Comodú, 1708; La Purissima Concepción, 1715; Santa Rosalia, 1705; Guadalupe, 1720; San Ignacio, 1728; Santa Gertrudis, 1751; San Borgia, 1766.

The church service of the mission was of course the center of interest, yet there were other fields in which the fathers had to be versatile and skilled. Agriculture and cattle raising were part of the fight for the existence of a thrifty mission. Much labor had to be invested with little return. Hardly any of the missions could be self-supporting. There was an annual pack-train from Mexico City with goods for the missions by way of Matanchel whence they came by boat to Loreto. There the goods were stored, registered, and administered in the arsenal by two brothers. However, the food supplies had to be brought more frequently, so the two Loreto boats often crossed the gulf to get a thousand sacks of grain, meat, sugar, and dried goods as well as horses and other things needed immediately.

For the orderly maintenance of the little commonwealth some military help was provided by the king. At the beginning one soldier was stationed in every mission. After the uprising in the South in 1734, however, the soldiers were distributed according to the danger prevailing in the different mission districts. Father Jacob had five soldiers in 1752 when he took over Mission San Luis Gonzaga.

There is a feeling of sympathy which comes upon the reader as he goes through the pages wherein Baegert describes the life of the soldiers, sailors, cowherds, and trades people, and the few miners (not exceeding four hundred in number). For such men were, Catholic though they professed to be, without the great ideals which moved the religious, living in that desolate country with no prospect for gain whatsoever. They were adventurers of a sort, content with little for the lack of something better, and few of them remained over a long period of time. The pearl-fishing and mining operated on a small scale helped only one man to a fortune worth mentioning and left the rest in poverty and debt. The revolt in the South in 1734 and the death of Fathers Tamaral and Carranco and of two soldiers did not encourage the

Spanish officials to send new soldiers or to start a new conquest of this poor region, save after long delay; and it was disease, the agent of fate, more than the worldly authority of Spanish arms that imposed authority on the greatly reduced number of the Indians.

In a special chapter Father Baegert takes an opportunity to ask the Protestants six questions as to the lack of missionary spirit among the rank of their clergy.[12] But, interesting as this typically eighteenth century argument runs, it reveals one important conclusion, namely, Father Baegert was of his age. Standing in the midst of a controversy, he had to take part in it; for, seventeen years of work in loneliness and trouble had not taught him to stand on the sidelines while others spread ink in vain attacks upon this doubtlessly unique achievement of civilizing work among the savages for the glory of the Church and Christendom.

Baegert goes to the conclusion of his book. In the midst of their labor the Jesuits were crudely interrupted, and the sixteen Fathers who had to leave California were moved as puppets, subject to the wills of those who directed the destinies of Europe. The arrival of Don Gaspar Portolá in California, his mysterious behavior, and the final revelation of his mission are told in the next chapter. The story of the rendezvous of all the missionaries in Loreto, the last Mass held there on February 2, the distress of the helpless Indians, and the sorrow of the missionaries in leaving their neophytes and the country, are the vivid pictures that form the end of Baegert's account. A moving description of this last day reveals to us an unanticipated phenomenon: Father Baegert was sorry to leave this desert. Was it the power of habit only that made him cherish any love for the "worst country" of his Introduction, or was it the feeling of the loss of an occupation which had filled a good part of his lifetime? Whatever our interpretation may be, Father Jacob Baegert becomes very human in these last pages, a loving and hating, a living being.

A few words should be given to the two appendices of false information. The first contains the eight charges put before the Jesuits upon their return to Madrid, which may be of interest because they show the futility of the usual argumentation in the case of the California missions. It was charged:

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[12] The six points concerning the Protestant clergy: (1) If the apostles had remained sitting in their country and at home behind the stove as their preachers do, what would have been the fate of the world? (2) Does or does not the command of Christ "Travel into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures" (Mark, XVI) apply to themselves? (3) Matthew XXIV: "The Gospel will be preached in all the world to all peoples." Is not that sentence translated in Luther's Bible? (4) What does the following mean: *Qui non es mecum, contra me est, et qui non colligit mecum dipersit?* (5) The Bible says: Bonum est communicativum sui. . . . (6) The marriage of their clergy ought not to be a reason for them to stay at home.

(1) "that the captain of the California Spanish militia and the soldiers under him are mere slaves of the Jesuits;

(2) "that the Jesuits purposely sell provisions to the soldiers at a price higher than that set and ordered;

(3) "that they make the Californians work very hard and give them nothing but cooked maize; [this would probably be a festive fare for the natives];

(4) "that the mines at Santa Ana and San Antonio produce so little and are in such bad condition is their fault;

(5) "that they have silver mines in their houses;

(6) "that in no way are they willing to permit Spanish families to settle in California;

(7) "that they carry on trade with the English;

(8) "that they tell the Californians nothing about the Catholic king with the intention that these may not know their true overlord."

All these charges Father Jacob rejects one by one, and he ridicules those who ever attempted to doubt the simple truth of the honest work of the Jesuits. It must be recalled here, however, that the public of the time, especially in Europe, was filled with mistrust of the Order, and the secrecy which was kept concerning the expulsions, and the misinformation that leaked out only naturally kindled the curiosity of the European layman.[13]

In the second appendix Baegert attacks different authors who contributed in spreading false information, and again in detail the French translation of Burriel-Venegas in the fashion used before, repudiating each single sentence. Then he takes up the *Discurso de las enfermedades de la Compañía por el P. Juan de Mariana* (Madrid 1768),[14] and last of all he refers to the confusion caused by the *Gazettier Ecclésiastique,* or Jansenist newspaper, written in Paris.[15] After he advises the reader regarding the mistakes in these writings and thoroughly disillusions him once more as to the concept of California as a rich land, he ends by advancing one remedy for the further boasting of such authors. "Let them be shipped to the court of Madrid," he proposes, "and be made Lord, or, if unmarried, first bishop of California. For I know that the poorest hidalgo in Spain cuts no smaller figure than the great Mogul of California will be able to make."

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[13] H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas,* San Francisco, 1884, I, 468.

[14] See Mir, *Historia interna documentada de la Compañia de Jesús,* II.

[15] See *Catholic Encyclopedia,* VIII, 285-293.

There is one last remark about the money question. "The truth is, that not a single one of my comrades nor I who have been in California were asked a word concerning money or other matters during the entire eight months of our stay in Madrid, before we were allowed to travel farther. We and others could have experienced nothing more desirable than this questioning, just as, on the contrary, nothing could have been more annoying to our opponents. This book will voice what has been kept silent."

For the reader of today, the *Nachrichten* brings to light many things that in time have become "silent," and aside from the service Father Baegert rendered to his order in publishing his report, his book is to us today a storehouse of data for the knowledge of Lower California history.

URSULA SCHAEFER

The First English-Speaking Parish in Illinois

The glamor of colonial times and struggles clings to the names of the old French parishes of Illinois, the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, St. Joseph's at Prairie du Rocher, and the Holy Family at Cahokia. These foundations have loomed large in the history of the early development of the Illinois country. But the name of St. Patrick's Church at O'Hara Settlement, now Ruma in Randolph County, six miles southeast of Prairie du Rocher, has been almost completely overlooked. Yet this parish, whose first church was built in 1826, eight years after Illinois attained to statehood, was the first English-speaking parish in the state. As an item of the wider development it is worthy of some mention and consideration.

The first of the O'Haras to settle in this district was Henry, who with his wife, Bridget Bolton, brought their five children to Kaskaskia for baptism on May 1, 1780.[1] Father Pierre Gibault administered the sacrament to John, aged nine, Therese, aged seven, Marie and Bridget, four year old twins, and the youngest, Henrietta, about two years of age. Members of some of the prominent French families of Kaskaskia were among the group of godparents.

The next O'Hara to dwell in this district, of whom we have record, was Charles O'Hara. He was among those who in 1787

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[1] Regitre des Baptemes dans l'eglise de l'Immaculée Conception aux Cascakias, in St. Louis University Library, 163. The entry is as follows:

"On the first day of May in the year 1780, I, the undersigned missionary priest of the country of the Illinois, have baptized five children of the legitimate marriage of Henry O'Hara and Bridget Bolton, his wife, both Irish of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Faith, namely, the first, John, nine years old, whose godfather was Louis Buyat, and godmother Charlotte Levasseur; the second, whose name was Therese, seven years old, whose godfather was Nicolas Caillot Lachanse, and whose godmother was Marie Louise Bienvenu; the third has been called Marie, four years old; whose godfather was Francis Janis, and whose godmother was Hyacinth Alarie; the fourth Bridget, twin with Marie, and consequently four years of age, whose godfather was Rene Soumande, and whose godmother was Frances Janis. The fifth Henrietta by name, about two years of age, whose godfather was Noel Levasseur, and whose godmother was Frances Thaumur; of whom some have signed with their own name; others have declared they did not know how to sign."

(Signed)

Rene Soumande Nicholas Lachanse P. Gibault: Missionary Priest
Francis Janis Marie Louise Bienvenu Henry O'Hara
Louis Buyat

petitioned Bartholomew Tardiveau as their agent at Congress for obtaining grants of the land on which they had been living in Illinois.[2]

We have no information of the family of Henry O'Hara until 1794, when his son John, then a man twenty-three years old, was a witness of the marriage of Raphael Drury and Elizabeth MacNabb, both originally of Maryland. His signature appears below that of Father Gabriel Richard, the pastor at that time, in the marriage records of Kaskaskia.[3] Archibald MacNabb, the father of the bride, was, like Charles O'Hara, among that group of petitioners of whom mention has just been made.[4]

A second Henry O'Hara came to Randolph County in 1817 from Maryland, having spent five years in Kentucky on the way.[5] He was the sixth and youngest child of a Henry O'Hara, whose wife was of English ancestry.[6] It is not impossible, and in fact, seems highly probable that the father of this second Henry O'Hara was the first O'Hara mentioned. The second Henry could very well have gone to Maryland for a while, leaving the older brother John to take care of the property in Randolph County.

During the next few years, many Catholic families, the Mudds, the Donahues, the Simpsons, the Fahertys, and others, came to swell the number of Catholic settlers near the O'Hara farm. These Mudds were the first members of that prominent Maryland family to settle in Illinois near the Mississippi. In fact, the river maps still carry the name of "Mudd's Landing" on the Mississippi.[7]

From the first, Mass was offered in the home of Henry O'Hara, by a priest, who came once a month from Kaskaskia. In this regular celebration of Mass at so early a date lies St. Patrick's claim to primacy as an English-speaking congregation in Illinois. The *Laity's Directory for 1822,* however, makes no mention of O'Hara's Settlement. It lists only three parishes in the state of Illinois, the French parishes of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Prairie du Rocher.[8] These appear among the churches of the Bardstown diocese.

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[2] Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1790,* Volume V, Part II, of *Illinois Historical Collections,* Springfield, 1909, 444.

[3] Regitre Des Mariages dans l'eglise de Notre Dame de l'Immaculée Conception aux Caskaskias, in St. Louis University Library, entry for February 11, 1794.

[4] See above, note 2.

[5] W. R. Brink, publisher, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of Randolph County, Illinois,* Illinois, 1876, 27.

[6] *Ibid.,* 55.

[7] L. J. Kenny, "A Grand Old Maryland Tree," in *Historical Records and Studies,* XXV, New York, 1936, 22-23.

In 1826, Henry O'Hara, now on his deathbed, bequeathed a tract of land for the erection of a church.[9] St. Patrick's was built of logs, under the direction of Father John Timon, a young Vincentian priest from the Seminary at the Barrens in Missouri. Of this, C. J. Deuther, the biographer of that great priest, bears witness: "In 1826 the extent of the missions embraced a wider tract of country. . . . In the State of Illinois, Mr. Timon, who had already been raised to the priesthood in 1825, built churches in places known as O'Hara's and the English settlements."[10]

The English Settlement was at Prairie du Long, now known as Hecker, about fourteen miles north of Ruma, where twelve families from Lancashire, England, had settled in 1816. A third congregation in this district was formed at Harrissonville, where Mass was said at irregular intervals as early as 1818.[11] Each of these settlements, it might be noted, was at some distance from the river, in contrast to the French settlements, all of which were hard by the Father of Waters.

Father Timon's work in this district was short-lived. He continued to advance to more important positions, until finally in 1847 he became the first bishop of Buffalo.[12] On March 30, 1830, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis gave faculties to Father Regis Loisel to bless the church at the O'Hara's.[13] The well-kept records of the parish, dating from January 31, 1831, show that Father Vital Paillaison was the pastor at the time.

The *Catholic Calendar* for 1834 gives official information that even at that date St. Patrick's was the only English-speaking Catholic Church at which Mass was regularly celebrated:

> CHURCHES OF THE ST. LOUIS DIOCESE IN THE STATE OF ILLINOIS
>
> Of the Conception in Kaskaskia.
>
> St. Joseph's, Prairie du Rocher.
>
> St. Patrick's at O'Hara's Settlement in Randolph County, six miles southeast of Prairie du Rocher, is served by Rev. V. Van Cloostere. Mass once each month.
>
> Catholic Church at the English settlement. Mass occasionally.

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[8] *The Laity's Directory,* B. Belmore, New York, 1822, 112.

[9] F. Beuckman, *History of the Belleville Diocese,* Belleville, 1919, Sect. 2, 25.

[10] C. Deuther, *Life and Times of Rt. Rev. John Timon,* Buffalo, 1870, 37.

[11] Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis,* St. Louis, 1928, I, 774.

[12] Deuther, 93.

[13] Rothensteiner, *loc. cit.*

> Catholic Church at Harrissonville. Mass occasionally.
>
> At the Good Shepherd in Chokias (sic).
>
> Catholic Church in Sangano county. Mass occasionally.
>
> Catholic Church at the Fever River Cines (sic). Mass occasionally.[14]

The only others that had Mass regularly, besides St. Patrick's, were the three French parishes.

Inconspicuous in this group, but destined to have an interesting history was the congregation at the Fever River. Organized almost ten years after St. Patrick's, it had a resident pastor nearly a decade before the parish at O'Hara's. In 1827 six or seven thousand miners lived in this district in northwestern Illinois, most of them having arrived there during the preceding two years. The Irish were living around the principal settlement, Galena and the Creoles at a town called Gratiot Grove. Five Irish Catholics of Galena wrote to Bishop Rosati in that same year for a resident priest.[15] Father Badin had but recently been at Galena, but the Irishmen wanted a priest who could speak English. It was sometime before their request could be fulfilled.

Father John Lutz came in 1830 and labored with tact and success in the mining district for about a year. In 1832 Father John McMahon, an Irishman, arrived in Galena. He had emigrated as a layman with his wife from Ireland about 1825. Having no children, they both decided to devote their lives to God, she in a convent and he as a priest. He was ordained during the year preceding his arrival at Galena. But he labored only ten months, for on June 19, 1833, he died of the cholera, without a priest to cheer and comfort his last hours.[16]

Another Irish priest, Father Charles Francis Fitzmaurice, who had arrived in America, came to Galena. But he also died of the cholera in the spring of 1835, within a year of his arrival.[17] Finally, Father Samuel Mazzuchelli of the Dominican Order became pastor at Galena.

Thus Galena had four resident pastors before O'Hara's had its first, Father John Kenny, who was pastor from 1839 to 1842. Other early pastors were Rev. Patrick McCabe, 1842-50, Rev. James Keane, 1850-53. During the pastorate of Father Keane, the cornerstone for a new brick church at O'Hara's was laid, as the Diary of Bishop Van de Velde bears witness,

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[14] *Catholic Calendar,* 1834, 96.

[15] Rothensteiner, *History,* I, 465.

[16] *Ibid.,* 537-542.

[17] *Ibid.,* 549-551.

> June 24th, 1853. Rev. James Keane Pastor. Mass and confirmation of 40 persons at O'Hara's.
>
> 25th. After dinner returned to O'Hara's and laid the corner-stone of a new brick church, assisted by Rev. Messrs. Keane, Van Cloostere and Gallagher. Great concourse of people.[18]

The church was completed in 1854 while Father John Gifford was pastor.

St. Patrick's Parish has belonged to a surprisingly large number of dioceses. In 1834 the *Catholic Calendar* listed it in the diocese of St. Louis;[19] the *Catholic Almanac* for the same year listed it in the diocese of Bardstown.[20] This discrepancy was due to the uncertain boundary line of the two dioceses; each controlled a part of Illinois. The St. Louis diocese embraced all the territory then held by the United States west of the Mississippi, except the state of Louisiana. East of the river, besides part of Illinois, it also had jurisdiction over the western part of Wisconsin. Today this territory includes thirteen states, and portions of three others, thirty dioceses and four archdioceses, and portions of five other dioceses and one archdiocese. The diocese of Bardstown included the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Eastern Illinois, and Eastern Wisconsin. The boundary dispute settled, St. Patrick's was in the St. Louis diocese until 1844;[21] the Chicago diocese until 1853;[22] the Quincy diocese until 1857;[23] the Alton diocese until 1887;[24] and is at present in the diocese of Belleville.

St. Patrick's is today a small parish. Father Witte, the present pastor states that the school has only eleven children. Very many of the old families have moved away, chiefly to St. Louis and other large cities. The pioneer of Illinois, St. Patrick's has watched other parishes in her state grow from infancy to become great cathedral parishes. Her source of pride is the knowledge of the great work she has done to keep alive in this new land the ancient faith that her sons brought with them from across the sea.

In conclusion, then, St. Patrick's appears to be the first organized English-speaking Catholic congregation, although congregations of a similar type were in the formation at about the same time at Harrissonville and Hecker. St. Patrick's was unquestionably the first congregation speaking English to have had Mass regularly. St. Patrick's was the first to have a church, and Galena was the first to have a resident English-speaking pastor.

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[18] "Diary of Bishop Van de Velde," in *Souvenir of the Jubilee of Bishop Feehan,* Chicago, 1891, 179.

[19] *Catholic Calendar,* 96.

[20] *Catholic Almanac,* 59.

[21] *Catholic Calendar, 1844,* 100, 109.

[22] *Catholic Directory, 1853,* 111.

[23] *Catholic Directory, 1857,* 224.

[24] *Catholic Directory, 1887,* 155.

W. B. Faherty

I. The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier

The term Indian Territory was once used to designate virtually the whole region west of the Mississippi which President Jefferson purchased from France in 1803. Gradually, by mid-century, the larger region was broken up, as states were admitted to the Union and territories organized, and the name Indian Territory dropped like a blanket on what is now the state of Oklahoma. The intention in the territorial policy was to make this narrow area the home of the Red Men of the plains. Even in the year of the purchase early negotiations were opened with the Cherokee in an effort to bring about their removal to the West.[1] Little was accomplished until 1817, when a portion of the tribe ceded its lands while the remainder held out against government pressure until removed by force in 1838.[2] A like policy was pursued toward the Creeks, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminoles,[3] who by 1850 had concluded treaties with the federal government and had removed to the Indian Territory where they, like the Cherokee, were gradually adjusting themselves to the new order of things.

During the period of Indian removal the federal government had erected a number of military posts where considerable garrisons of troops were kept. Fort Smith on the Oklahoma border, Fort Gibson on the east bank of the Grand River, and Fort Towson on the Red River were unified by military roads laid out between outposts.[4] At the outbreak of the Civil War the federal troops were withdrawn from these forts. Left without protection, the Indians for the most part made alliances with the Confederacy.[5] At the close of the war the federal government used this relapse as an excuse for exacting new treaties, and among the terms imposed was that of giving up their surplus lands which were to become homes for the Plains Indians.[6] The first Indians to be removed were the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache,[7] who lived a wandering life on the plains, depending largely upon hunting for food, shelter, and clothing. Beginning in 1866 with these tribes, the government had by 1884, with the removal of the Tonkawa, located twenty-two separate Indian reservations in the Territory on which each tribe was allowed its particular form of government.[8]

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[1] Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs,* Baltimore, 1927, 289.

[2] *Bureau of American Ethnology, Nineteenth Annual Report, 1898,* Washington, 1900, 2 Parts, I, 130.

[3] Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico.* Bureau of American Ethnology, Parts I and II, Washington, 1907.

[4] Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names,* Norman, Oklahoma, 1933, 144-145.

[5] Joseph Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma,* 5 Vols., Chicago, 1916, II, 269.

This region then, with its thousands of Indians, few white inhabitants at the army posts, soldiers eking out a monotonous and lonely existence in military forts, and liberated Negro slaves, represented the setting where active Catholic missionary work began in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The soil of Oklahoma, it seems, had been trodden by Catholic missionaries long years before. Priests were with the De Soto expedition in the sixteenth century, which probably traversed what is now Oklahoma.[9] From these the few scattered tribes may have heard for the first time the simple truths of faith.[10] Another sixteenth century Spanish expedition led by Coronado brought with it the famed Fray Padilla, who was slain by the Indians in Texas according to some authorities and in Kansas according to others. Possibly he reached or passed through Oklahoma. It is fairly certain that Abbé Jean Cavelier, brother of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, passed through the land with another priest,

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[6] *Ibid.*

[7] Reverend Aloysius Hitta, O. S. B., "Geronimo's Horses Are Branded," *The Indian Sentinel,* XVI (February, 1936), 32. This is an interesting and true story of the death bed conversion of Geronimo, the Apache chief, by Father Isidore Ricklin, O. S. B. The chief was captured by General Nelson A. Miles and placed in prison at Fort Sill, Indian Territory.

[8] Material, indispensable to anyone writing the history of the Potawatomie before their removal to the Indian Territory, is to be found in Father John F. O'Connor, S. J., The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley, Ms., St. Mary's, Kansas. For the Osage, the manuscript collection of Father Paul Ponziglione, S. J., in the St. Louis University Archives, is a monumental collection of early Osage history.

[9] *The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas.* Published for the first time in 1557. A critically annotated edition by Theodore Lewis is to be found in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southern United States,* New York, 1920, 217.

[10] Bernard Shipp, *The History of Hernando de Soto and Florida, or Records of the Events of Fifty-Six Years from 1512-1568,* Philadelphia, 1881, 245. An interesting discussion, "Some Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition," by Francis Borgia Steck will be found in MID-AMERICA, XV (July, 1932), 4. That some of the sixteenth century Spanish explorers ever crossed into Kansas and Oklahoma has recently been questioned. See "The Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas," by David Donoghue, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XXXII (January, 1929), 181-192, also "Coronado, Oñate and Quivira," by the same author, MID-AMERICA, XVIII (April, 1936), 95.

Father Douay, on their way from Matagorda Bay to the Illinois Country, after the assassination of La Salle. But the attempted evangelization by Padilla and the trips of the others were not followed up.

In the nineteenth century, with the advent of French traders from the North and from the South, missionaries from Kansas and Missouri ventured into the Territory. Under the administration of Bishop Du Bourg, a Vincentian seminary was established at Barrens, now Perryville, Missouri, and from here as early as 1824 Reverend John Odin and his companion, a cleric, intended to visit the Territory while on a missionary trip to Arkansas,[11] but they were unable to complete their itinerary.

Meanwhile, the Jesuits had made a foundation at Florissant, and later established a mission at St. Paul, Kansas, that became in time the center of a fruitful apostolate in Indian Territory.[12] In 1830, Father Van Quickenborne, S. J., established mission stations on Chouteau, Prior, and Cabin Creeks. From that date the Jesuits continued to visit the army posts and Indian reserves, and between 1830-1886 they established sixteen missionary stations in various parts of the Territory. In addition to Father Van Quickenborne, Father Bax, and Father Van Hulst, there was Father Paul Ponziglione, who traversed practically every portion of Indian Territory, in order to give the few scattered Catholics an opportunity of hearing Mass and receiving the sacraments.[13]

Not only were the Jesuits from Kansas ministering to the spiritual needs of the Catholics in the Territory, but the diocesan priests from Arkansas were making frequent and lengthy trips in that direction.[14] For the history of the Catholic Church in Indian Territory, this is a record that has been completely overlooked, but the fact remains that as early as 1849 Father Walsh and Father Monaghan made five different trips to the Territory, and on each occasion baptisms and marriages were recorded. These trips continued regularly up to the time of the Civil War, and each year records attest to the extensiveness of their journeys, and the fruits of their labor.[15] Forts Gibson, Washita, Arbuckle, the Indian reservations, and isolated family groups were each visited one or more times in the course of the year. In the decade before the outbreak of the Civil War, Father Walsh and Father Monaghan were joined in their work in the Territory by Fathers Shanahan, Reilly and Smyth.[16] The record of the five priests who traveled from Fort Smith to the most distant of the frontier posts on horseback or in a buggy, and their records of baptisms, marriages, and burials, helps in no small way to dispel the erroneous idea that Catholic missionary work in Oklahoma began only in the late seventies.

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[11] Rosati Diary, Ms., Vincentian Monastery, Perryville, Missouri.

[12] Western Missions Journal, Ms. Collection of Father Ponziglione, S. J., St. Louis University Archives.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Register of Marriages for Fort Smith (Arkansas) and Missions attached Thereto 1844-1897, Ms. records in St. Patrick's Church, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

[15] Registerum Baptism (sic) 1857-1900. Fathers Lawrence and Michael Smyth, Ms., Records, Fort Smith, Arkansas.

The coming of the Benedictines to the Oklahoma frontier has an interesting old world background. In the diocese of Sens, France, is the monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire, the motherhouse of the Benedictine monks of the primitive observance.[17] Among those who had been attracted by the sanctity and learning of the monastery was Father Isidore Robot, who from the time of his ordination in 1862 had expressed a desire to work in the mission field. The anti-Catholic attitude shown by Gambetta and the republican party in France resulted in many monastic orders seeking foundations in other countries where their members might go in event of persecution and exile.[18] To this end Father Robot and Brother Dominic Lambert were sent to the United States with instructions to find a suitable missionary field for the Benedictine Fathers of Pierre-qui-Vire.

Father Robot was welcomed by Archbishop Perché of New Orleans, assigned to Bayou Pierre, and later appointed as chaplain to the Sisters of Charity in Shreveport.[19] Father Robot, however, had not come to the United States to be director or confessor of nuns, but to be a missionary. While in this capacity he learned through Father Gailland, S. J., of St. Mary's Mission, Kansas, the plight of the Indians in the Territory, who since their removal were without a resident priest or Catholic teachers.[20]

Relieved of his duties as chaplain, Father Robot called on

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[16] Father Michael Smyth has the distinction of building in 1874 at Atoka, Indian Territory, St. Patrick's Church, the first Catholic Church within the present state of Oklahoma.

[17] Right Reverend Dom Isidore Robot, O. S. B., *The Life of the Reverend Mary John Baptist Muard, Founder of the Missionary Priests of the Benedictine Preachers of the Monastery of Saint Mary of Pierre-qui-Vire.* Translated from the French of the Abbé Brulée, New York, 1882, 1-75.

[18] *Les Benedictins de Sainte Marie de la Pierre-qui-Vire* (Diocese de Sens). Pamphlet printed at the monastere de la Pierre-qui-Vire, 1877.

[19] Annals of Sacred Heart Mission, 1876-1907. Cahier containing eighty-four handwritten pages, Ms., Sacred Heart Priory, Sacred Heart, Oklahoma. Hereafter referred to as Annals.

[20] Joseph Moose, "Catholicity Among the Potawatomie," *Indian Advocate,* II (April, 1889), 3.

Bishop Edward Fitzgerald of Little Rock, of whose diocese the Indian Territory was the western part. He explained his mission to the Bishop, who must have been impressed by the earnestness of the religious, for he was given jurisdiction over the whole Indian Territory and the assurance of every financial aid the Bishop was able to give.[21] With these arrangements completed, Father Robot and Brother Dominic left Little Rock and arrived at Atoka, Indian Territory, on October 12, 1875. Here they found a few Catholics among the shopkeepers and railroad workers, and a small, unfinished church that had been built some three years earlier.

Nine months after their arrival Pope Pius IX issued two decrees, one erecting the Prefecture Apostolic (separated from the Diocese of Little Rock), and the other appointing Father Robot first Prefect Apostolic, under date of July 9, 1876.[22] During this time Father Robot was considering the request of several Indian tribes that he establish a mission on their reservation. The Indians were poor and could offer no financial assistance, the few white Catholics were existing on a mere subsistence level, and he knew the impossibility of obtaining money from Pierre-qui-Vire.[23]

It chanced that the decrees of erection and appointment of the Prefecture Apostolic were printed in *Les Missions Catholiques,* a copy of which was read by Mr. James McMaster, the editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal.* Mr. McMaster was not impressed by the action of the Holy Father, but in a caustic article stated that although he did not offer any congratulations, he would like to know from such a good authority as Father Robot what reason there was for the development of the Catholic Church in such wastes as those of New Mexico and Indian Territory.[24] The invitation to enlighten the inquiring editor was accepted by Father Robot, and for the next three or four years the columns of the *Freeman's Journal* contained the correspondence of the zealous Benedictine. A report from Father Robot to his abbot at Pierre-qui-Vire, a part of which was published in

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[21] Father Robot, O. S. B., to Msgr. Brouillet, Atoka, Indian Territory, April 26, 1876, Ms., Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Washington, D. C. Hereafter referred to as B. C. I. M.

[22] These decrees may be found in *Acta Sanctae Sedes,* Rome, 1885, IX, 425-426.

[23] Father Robot to Madam Marie Elizabeth Rea, Atoka Indian Territory, December 17, 1875, Ms., B. C. I. M.

[24] Editorial, "Apostolic Appointment for the Indian Territory," *Freeman's Journal,* New York, XXXVII (August 19, 1876), 4.

Les Missions Catholiques, inspired Mr. McMaster to organize "A Plan for Helping the Indians."[25] Appeals for funds and prayers were made, and within a year almost six thousand dollars were sent to Father Robot. The incidents connected with the campaign, the letters received from donors, the editorials pleading the cause of the Prefect Apostolic, and the journalistic fireworks that grew out of the resentment shown by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions toward the activity of Mr. McMaster, are a few of the incidents that give color to the first year of the Prefecture.

After studying the different proposals for a mission, Father Robot decided upon the Potawatomie Reservation, at a place about seventy miles from Atoka.[26] While completing the plans for their future work, the two Benedictines were joined by Bernard Murphy and Joseph Shea, who alone survived the yellow fever epidemic that wiped out their community at Savannah, Georgia.[27]

Work on the monastery was started during February, 1877, and despite many obstacles the building was completed in late summer. In April, five recruits, including two priests from Pierre-qui-Vire, joined the little community.[28] In June, by decree of the Propaganda, a novitiate was established; a day school for Indian children was opened in September, and here in the wild solitude peopled only by Indians, far from all civilization and from all communication, at times almost destitute of resources, Father Robot and his little community prayed with zeal and confidence in what they called their Promised Land.

Two appointments came to Father Robot in 1878.[29] The first was the decree of the new Pontiff, Leo XIII, raising him to the dignity of an abbot (titular), and the second was the announcement by the government that a post office would be established on the mission property. Father Robot was named first postmaster.[30] During this year the first annual retreat was held, the exercises conducted by Father Robot, and the ranks of the little community were increased during December by the lay-brother

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[25] "The Prefecture Apostolic of the Indian Territory—the Very Reverend Dom Isidore Robot," *Ibid.,* (October 14, 1876), 4.

[26] Annals, October, 1876.

[27] *Ibid.,* February, 1877.

[28] *Ibid.,* April, 1877.

[29] Published in *Les Missions Catholiques,* Lyons, France, November 22, 1878.

[30] From records compiled by Grant Foreman and published in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* VI (March, 1928), 3.

John Laracy, of Paterson, New Jersey, a lovable, interesting character who is living today, the oldest member of the community.[31]

With a successful boys' day school in operation Father Robot decided to build a school for girls and place it under the care of a community of sisters. St. Mary's was completed in 1880, and in August of that year six Sisters of Perpetual Adoration arrived from New Orleans. They continued in charge of the school until 1884, when they were replaced by the Sisters of Mercy, in whose care the school has since remained.[32]

The hardships and privations that were necessarily a part of the foundation of Sacred Heart were sapping the strength of a constitution never robust. In 1884 after assisting at the Third Plenary Council at Baltimore,[33] Father Robot, accompanied by Brother Dominic, left for Rome to lay before the Holy Father an account of the church in the Prefecture, and to present his resignation.[34] It was almost a year before his successor was appointed. When relieved of his duties by the arrival of Father Ignatius Jean in October, 1886, Father Robot took charge of the parish at McAlester, where he died in February, 1887.[35]

Under his successor a program of missionary expansion was carried out. In his first report Father Ignatius Jean expressed the conviction that more fruitful results could be attained if there were three centers of Catholic activity from which the priests could carry on their work, as the trips to and from Sacred Heart were long, difficult, and expensive.[36] Thus it was that St. Louis Mission at Pawhuska was established in the northern part of the Territory, St. Michael's in the East, and to the pastor at Krebs were given McAlester, Savannah, and the tribes located between Fort Sill and El Reno.[37]

In order to bring the needs of the Indians to the attention of the Catholics, and to secure vocations in the work where assistance was so greatly needed, the Fathers in 1888 began the publication of the *Indian Advocate.* It first appeared quarterly and later monthly. It continued to be issued until 1910, and is one of the richest printed sources of Okalhoma church history during that time.[38]

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[31] Reminiscences and Memoirs of Brother John Laracy, Ms., Sacred Heart Archives, Sacred Heart, Oklahoma.

[32] Community Records. Sisters of the Most Holy Sacrament, Ms., New Orleans, Louisiana.

[33] *The Memorial Volume. A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, November 9-December 7, 1884,* Baltimore, 1885, 106.

[34] Annals, June, 1884.

[35] *Ibid.,* February, 1887.

[36] Reverend Ignatius Jean to Reverend D. Balsieper, Sacred Heart Indian Territory, October 14, 1887. Published in the *Indian Advocate,* I (January, 1888), 4.

[37] Annals, April, 1887.

The opening of the lands to white settlements in 1889 created a situation unique in the annals of growth and development. Thousands of persons poured across the border and new towns sprang into existence over night. It was the epic story of the Cimarron. The Benedictines met the demands for priests as best they could, but although their ranks had been augmented by ordinations and recruits from France, the numbers were insufficient to meet the needs of this tremendous increase.

Among the towns where churches were built within a few months after the opening were Oklahoma City, Edmond, Guthrie, El Reno, and Norman. In this same year the Benedictines, Father Placidus and Father Willebrand, came to the Territory from eastern Bengal, and later were joined by Father Lanslots, who had been stationed at the same place.[39] In 1890, Father Isidore Ricklin arrived from Buckfast, England,[40] and Father Gerrer, whose fame as an artist has become international, began his novitiate at Sacred Heart.

In 1896 Sacred Heart was raised to the rank of an Abbey, and Father Thomas Duperou was consecrated amid the solemn and impressive ceremonies.[41] He was in office only one year when taken by death, and the choice of the community was Father Felix de Grasse, a lineal descendant of Admiral de Grasse, who assisted the American colonies in the Revolutionary War.[42]

During the next five years new churches were erected and dedicated, and new schools were opened in the parishes. Sacred Heart completed the building of her abbatial church, the largest and most beautiful edifice in the Territory. On the night of January 15, 1901, a fire broke out in the Abbey.[43] Nothing could stop the flames and in a short time every vestige of Sacred Heart Mission had been destroyed. This included the monastery, Sacred Heart Church, the pride of the priests and people, St. Mary's Academy and Novitiate, and all the shops, mills, and stables forming the mission property. The Fathers were determined to rebuild Sacred Heart, and through the generosity of friends in the East, a new building far less pretentious than the first was blessed in January, 1902. Visitations, ordinations, deaths, and new recruits characterize the next few years at Sacred Heart. In 1905, after a lingering illness, Father de Grasse passed to his reward, and Father Bernard Murphy was chosen to succeed him.[44] He has the distinction of being the first American abbot at Sacred Heart.

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[38] *Indian Advocate,* Sacred Heart, Oklahoma, 1888-1910. The files of this publication, the first Catholic paper in the Territory, are rich in the early history of the Church. Only two complete files are known to exist. One is to be found at Sacred Heart Priory, Sacred Heart, Oklahoma, and the other in the private collection of Reverend Urban de Hasque, Perry, Oklahoma. At the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., volumes 6-22 (1894-1910) may be found.

[39] Annals, November, 1889.

[40] Annals, December, 1890. When the monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire was confiscated by the French government some of the Benedictine Fathers had gone to Ireland, and thence in 1882 to Buckfast, England, where they had rebuilt the ancient Abbey that had been suppressed by Henry VIII in 1539.

[41] *Indian Advocate,* X (January, 1898), 195.

[42] Annals, February, 1898.

By a decree dated August 27, 1905, the Holy Father changed the vicariate to a diocese, and designated Monsignor Meerschaert its first bishop.[45] Since 1891 the ranks of the clergy had been greatly increased by growth of the secular clergy. Gradually the Benedictine Fathers were removed from the parishes, so that by 1907 they were in charge of only four.[46] Only three decades had elapsed since they had come to the Territory. During these years Sacred Heart Monastery had been built, forty-one churches and chapels erected, and throughout the Territory the Fathers had brought the faith to the Indian tribes and scattered white settlements as frequently as their time and numbers would permit.

It was under the administration of the Second Prefect Apostolic that definite growth and development was made in the matter of education, and to Mather Katherine Drexel the Church is deeply indebted. For without the financial assistance that she so generously gave, the erection and maintenance of the Indian schools would have been impossible. It might be added that this help continues in some cases even to the present time.[47]

In addition to the three schools that were begun while Father

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[43] *Ibid.,* January, 1901.

[44] *Ibid.,* February, 1905. Father Bernard Murphy was one of the first co-laborers to join Father Robot in the Indian Territory. Accompanied by Joseph Shea, he arrived at Atoka, Indian Territory, from Savannah, Georgia, February 2, 1877.

[45] The Private Diary of Bishop Meerschaert, August 27, 1905. These priceless manuscripts are to be found in the diocesan chancery files, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[46] Ms. copy of correspondence relative to these parishes is to be found in the Archives of St. Gregory's Abbey, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

[47] Churches and Schools Erected by Mother Katherine Drexel in Oklahoma, Ms., in the files of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, St. Elizabeth's Convent, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

Robot was Prefect Apostolic, plans were made in 1887 for an industrial mission school at Lehigh, under the title of St. Michael. But the scheme was from the beginning doomed to failure.[48] When it was seen that St. Michael's would not materialize as an industrial school, the Fathers opened a day school in Lehigh, in 1887, under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy. The school soon had an enrollment of more than a hundred and fifty pupils, and has continued in successful operation up to the present time.

The first attempt to change the status of St. Mary's Academy and Sacred Heart School was made in 1886, when Father Thomas applied for government contracts for the two schools.[49] In the course of the following year the Indian agent, Moses Neal, visited the schools and in his annual report strongly supported the request of the missionaries. The first contract was awarded June 13, 1888, and provided a compensation of $29.87 per quarter for children of the Osage, Sac, and Fox tribes. Besides those provided for by government contract, many children from the Potawatomie families living near by, children from the Chickasaw and Seminole tribes, and the sons and daughters of the cattlemen and the military officials living at the forts, enrolled in the two mission schools.[50]

The course of study was similar to most industrial schools, and was the same in all the schools under the supervision of the Benedictine Fathers. Practical subjects such as sewing, cooking, mending, the fundamentals of health and cleanliness, as well as art, needlework, and music were included in the course for girls, while farming, stock raising, and practical work in the mills and fields were taught the boys. Due to the extensive improvements made, the value of the two schools in 1893 was placed by the Indian agent at one hundred thousand dollars.[51]

The schools suffered a temporary setback in 1895, when the government was forced to withdraw government aid from all denominational schools, but the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions came to the rescue of the Indians, and gave a contract for forty pupils for each school.

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[48] Annals, December, 1887.

[49] Father Thomas Duperou to Moses Neal, Indian Agent, August 1, 1886. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* Washington, 1886, 146.

[50] Dom M. Norbert, O. S. B., to the Abbot of Pierre-qui-Vire. Published in *Les Missions Catholiques,* September 16, 1886.

[51] Samuel L. Patrick, Indian Agent, Sac and Fox Agency, to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 30, 1893. *Sixty-Second Annual Report,* 1893, 380.

When the schools were destroyed by fire in January, 1901, the boys were sent home and the girls to Shawnee, Krebs, and Ardmore, where the Sisters of Mercy had parochial schools. St. Mary's was rebuilt that year, a larger and more up-to-date building, and in a higher and more desirable location.[52] The boys' school was in time reopened, but was discontinued when the Fathers built St. Gregory College at Shawnee. The girls' school continues to the present time and is one of the most successful Indian schools in operation.

After seventeen years of fruitless efforts, the Osage Indians, in 1887, succeeded in obtaining from the government the permission necessary for a Catholic mission school.[53] Father Felix de Grasse was sent to Pawhuske in January, 1887.[54] With the co-operation of Father Willard of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, a building was erected on a lot adjoining the house that served as a rectory. A small house was built as a convent for the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, under whose care the school was to be placed. The school opened in November.[55] By January the twenty-pupil contract allowed by the government was far too small, and the next year it was raised to fifty. In 1889, a large building was purchased, furnished, and opened to seventy-five boarders and eighteen day pupils.[56]

On the night of February 14, 1889, a fire of unknown origin broke out and destroyed every vestige of the building and its contents. Owing to the courage and quick action of the Sisters, every child was marched in safety from the building.[57] The Osage Council adopted a resolution of sympathy, and plans were drawn up for a new building. Mother Katherine Drexel promised financial assistance, and a substantial stone structure four stories high was built less than a mile from the Osage Agency.[58] St. Louis Mission has since remained a flourishing Indian school, and because the Osage Indians are independent financially, the school has enjoyed consistent support.

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[52] Annals, January, 1902.

[53] A. B. Upshaw, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to James I. David, U. S. Indian Agent. Washington, September 23, 1886. Osage Files, Pawhuska, Oklahoma.

[54] Father Felix de Grasse to Reverend Dom Stephan, Abbot of Pierre-qui-Vire, Pawhuska, Indian Territory, January 4, 1889. Published in the *Indian Advocate,* II (April, 1889), 4.

[55] *Indian Advocate* (Prospectus), 1888, 4.

[56] School Records, St. Louis School, 1887-1907, Pawhuska, Oklahoma.

[57] "The Sisters deserve much credit for their heroism," *The Indian Citizen,* Atoka, Indian Territory, March 16, 1889.

[58] Ms. Files of St. Elizabeth's Convent, Cornwells Heights, Pennsylvania.

The fourth school to be established during the Prefecture of Father Ignatius Jean was St. John's, for Osage boys, located on Hominy Creek, some fifteen miles from Pawhuska.[59] Twenty-one full-blood Osage boys were enrolled the first year. The increased enrollment warranted the erection of a new four-story stone building in 1891. The entire expense was defrayed by Mother Katherine Drexel. In addition, a chaplain's college, bakery, blacksmith shop, the Sisters' convent, and a cottage for the help completed the mission. In 1892, the government gave a contract for sixty-five boys, and at the time of statehood the attendance was around that number.

Ten Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, with Sister Mary Paul as superior, continued in charge of St. John's until 1907, when the management of the school was transferred to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[60]

Father Isidore pitched his tent among the Indians, and traveled from tent to tent "teaching them the knowledge of a living God and winning their affection and confidence by his constant care." It was his pleasure to gather the children about him and teach them catechism, to read and write, and to sing simple songs. The Indians became so attached to the Benedictine that they adopted him into their tribe and named him Chief Thunderbolt.[61]

The first buildings for St. Patrick's Mission were completed in 1892. To assist the Indian parents, Mother Katherine Drexel paid six dollars and a quarter monthly for each Indian child enrolled at the mission.[62] In 1893, because the frame buildings were far too small for the increasing enrollment, they were, with the assistance of Mother Katherine Drexel, replaced by a substantial stone building. To the school building was added a boys' dormitory, a girls' dormitory, a laundry, and a building occupied by the Sisters. In 1903, seventy-seven Indian children were being cared for from funds supplied by Mother Katherine, who likewise paid the salary of the teachers and provided compensation for the resident priest.[63] Shortly after the time of statehood, the mission was burned. But it was rebuilt larger than before, was leased by the government, with the Sisters retained as instructors with government supervision and salaries, and was finally returned to the Benedictine Fathers. It remains today in successful operation.

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[59] Act of June 28, 1906 (34 Stat. L., p. 539), Division of Osage Lands and Funds, 3.

[60] The *Indian Sentinel,* 1910, 9.

[61] Rev. A. Hitta, O. S. B., "Anadarko Boarding School," *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine,* I (December, 1932), 2.

[62] *Community Records,* Convent of the Blessed Sacrament, *ut. cit.*

[63] Mother Katherine Drexel to Sister Amelina, February 12, 1903, Ms.,

When the Rock Island Railroad extended its line across Oklahoma from the Kansas border the little town of Chickasha was built. In 1899, in order to impress the people with the type of training the children at Anadarko were getting from the Sisters, Father Ricklin had the closing program repeated in Chickasha. It was given in the public school house and the little Indians demonstrated their training to a degree scarcely hoped for by their teachers, and as a result Father Ricklin was urged to open a school.[64] A two-story school building was purchased from the school board, remodeled and improved. The Sisters of St. Francis were given charge, and opened with an enrollment of one hundred day pupils and twelve boarders. In the entire enrollment there was only one Catholic child.[65]

By 1902 many new improvements had been made and the records show seventy-four white boys, eight Indian boys, seventy-nine white girls, and five Indian girls. In a short time the government made provision for eighty resident Choctaw and Chickasaw children.[66] Recently the original buildings have been replaced by more pretentious brick structures, so that St. Joseph's is one of the most attractive school buildings in Chickasha.

Among the other schools established for the Indian children was St. Mary's on the Quapaw Reservation for the use of the Ottawa, Wyandotte, Miami, Peoria, and Quapaw Indians.[67] It was first opened in 1891 as a day school, conducted by a Catholic lay teacher, but in 1894 it was given to the charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph. It continued to obtain government contracts until 1907.[68]

For the benefit of the Choctaw tribe St. Agnes Mission was

Convent of the Blessed Sacrament; Mother Katherine Drexel to Father Isidore Ricklin, August 31, 1902, *ibid.*

[64] Sister Mary Barbara, O. S. F., *A Diamond Crown for Christ the King. A Story of the First Franciscan Foundation in Our Country 1855-1930,* Glen Riddle, Pennsylvania, 1930, 259.

[65] Community Records, Ms., Sisters of St. Francis, St. Joseph Convent, Chickasha, Oklahoma.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Father William Ketcham to George S. Doane, U. S. Indian Agent, Muskogee, Indian Territory, July 25, 1894. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1894.

[68] "Contracts for Mission Schools." *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior,* 1906, 51.

built at Antlers in Pusmataha County. It was originally a "neighborhood school" with an enrollment almost wholly of full-bloods.[69] Through the kindness of Mother Katherine Drexel a substantial building was erected, and the Sisters were employed by the Choctaw government and the work supervised by a Choctaw official.[70] At the time of statehood sixty Choctaw and seventy-four white children were enrolled.

St. Agnes Academy at Ardmore has the distinction of being the first school in that place. It was begun with money furnished by Mother Katherine, and, more than any other of the mission schools, suffered from the prejudice and bigotry of the early century.[71] Only through the unfailing patience and charity of the Sisters of Mercy was the school able to exist. It remains in operation today, a successful school for Indians and whites.

St. Elizabeth Mission at Purcell grew out of the plan of Father Ignatius Jean to establish three centers of Catholic life, north, east, and west.[72] It served the tribes located between Fort Sill and Fort Reno. Under the supervision of Father Vincent Joly, O. S. B., the Sisters of St. Francis opened school in November, 1888, and by the close of the year their enrollment consisted of one hundred and ten girls and fifty-seven boys.

Two additional schools were established prior to statehood. These were St. Theresa School at Tulsa, for which Mother Katherine donated fifteen hundred dollars on the condition that when it ceased to be an Indian school the money would be returned to her.[73] In 1899, sixty-five pupils were in attendance and the enrollment increased rapidly thereafter. Today it has been replaced by the spacious Holy Family School, under the care of the Sisters of Divine Providence, with hundreds of children in attendance.

The last school intended for both Indian and white children was Nazareth Institute at Muskogee. It was erected under the pastorate of Father William Ketcham and given to the charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph, a diocesan group, whose motherhouse was located at Antlers. They were later replaced by the Sisters of St. Joseph from Carondelet, Missouri, in whose care the school is today.

The educational needs of the Negro children were not neglected. The Negroes prior to 1889 were for the most part freedmen, but after the run of 1889 their number was greatly increased. Train-loads were brought in from the South and among them were many Catholics. One school previous to 1889 had been established by Brother John, from Sacred Heart.[74] Claver School was located in the Canadian settlement, and continued to be conducted until 1896, when the Negroes, who were squatters, were forced to move elsewhere.[75]

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[69] The *Indian Sentinel,* 1914, 19.
[70] *Ibid.,* 20.
[71] The *Indian Sentinel,* 1915, 22.
[72] Reverend Ignatius Jean to Reverend D. Balsieper, October 14, 1887.
[73] Ms. Files of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.

In 1893 the Benedictine Sisters opened St. Catherine's Day School in Guthrie, and two years later Holy Family School[76] at Langston. Each school from the opening day had a large enrollment. These schools continued under the supervision of the same religious until 1924. Two flourishing Catholic Negro schools are located at Tulsa and Okmulgee, while very recently the Benedictine Sisters have opened Claver College in Guthrie, which offers in addition to the college subjects opportunities for the study of music, art, and business administration. The students are for the most part teachers and college students who have not had the occasion to complete their college course.

In the educational scheme in the Territory, the parochial schools for white children were the first to be established. Between 1880 and 1907 thirty-four had been opened and were in charge of the Sisters of Mercy, Benedictines, Sisters of Divine Providence, and the Sisters of the Precious Blood. The enrollment was little less than four thousand.

The Church on the Oklahoma frontier entered a period of definite expansion with the appointment of Monsignor Meerschaert as Vicar Apostolic in 1891. Upon his arrival in Guthrie, he found twenty-three priests[77] attending as best they could the vast Territory comprising almost seventy thousand square miles. At that date there were twenty-one churches and chapels and a Catholic population of about five thousand souls.

Two weeks after his arrival, the Bishop set out to visit every part of the vicariate, traveling great distances partly by rail, but most of the time in a buggy.[78] The first official visit was Sacred Heart Abbey.[79] Accompanied by two of the Benedictine Fathers, he visited in the course of weeks practically every established mission school and church.[80]

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[74] Reminiscenses and Memoirs of Brother John Laracy, Ms.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] "Langston and Oklahoma," *The Little Star of the Black Belt,* Lynchburg, Virginia, I (September, 1902), 2.

[77] *Sadler's Catholic Directory,* 1891, 499.

[78] Private Diary of Bishop Meerschaert, October 4, 1891.

[79] Annals, October, 1891. On this occasion he blessed the cornerstone of the new Sacred Heart Church.

But the crying need of the Church was priests. With the constant stream of white settlers pouring into the rich lands opened to settlement since 1889, little parishes were already in the making. In order that he might secure additions to the ranks of the clergy, Bishop Meerschaert made several trips to Europe and was successful in securing many young priests. Up to 1907, the American College at Louvain, Belgium, had sent almost three score to the Territory.

In 1907, when the Twin Territories were united to form the forty-sixth state, the secular clergy numbered fifty-one members. Assisting these were thirty-one Benedictines. By this date Bishop Meerschaert had conducted the dedication ceremonies of sixty-eight churches and had blessed new brick structures that had replaced nine of these. To the other institutions, whether Indian Mission, parochial school, academy, or hospital, the Bishop gave his generous support.

The rapid growth of the Catholic Church in Oklahoma had its initial impetus in the zealous work of those early pioneers who labored so faithfully during the frontier days.

SISTER URSULA THOMAS, O. S. B.

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[80] Diary of Bishop Meerschaert, October-November, 1891.

II. The Catholic Church on the Oklahoma Frontier; A Critical Bibliography

Since the passing of the American Frontier, historians have begun to study and evaluate the religious, social, and intellectual part played by churchmen in the development of the West in the nineteenth century. Oklahoma, the region described in the preceding article, has not been accorded adequate historical treatment from the viewpoint of its religious development. It is the purpose of the following bibliography to reveal extensive and hitherto unexplored and unused sources for the study of this significant chapter in the history of the Catholic Church on the American Frontier.

COLLECTIONS AND MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

ANADARKO, OKLAHOMA

The files of Father Aloysius Hitta, O. S. B., superintendent of St. Patrick's Mission, contain: letters from Mother Katherine Drexel; newspaper clippings that throw light on the past history of the mission; printed articles that Father Hitta has contributed to the *Indian Sentinel* and *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine*; the Ms. copy of Bishop Martin Marty's letter to Charles E. Adams, United States Indian Agent at the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, authorizing Reverend Isidore Ricklin to select the quarter section for a mission; a letter from the Department of the Interior granting to the Catholic Bureau of Indian Missions the quarter section selected and the authority to cut timber and use stone from the same land. There are likewise reports of attendance, financial statements, and other such data.

The manuscript Record kept by the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis contains an account of St. Patrick's Mission since the arrival of the first group of Sisters on October 1, 1892. It lists those who have since that date been located at the mission, incidents connected with the daily life of the school, the number of pupils enrolled, visits, and other items of local history.

Similar material was found at Chickasha and Purcell where members of the same religious order have charge of the mission school.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Newberry Library contains an appreciable amount of printed material that is of interest in this study. It can for the most part be found in the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions in Washington.

CORNWELLS HEIGHTS, PENNSYLVANIA

In St. Elizabeth Convent, the Motherhouse of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, there are letters and petitions of the Indians in the Territory written to Mother Katherine Drexel, to the Benedictine Fathers, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to Father Stephan, then head of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. There is also a letter from Father W. H. Ketcham to the Franciscan Sisters. A list of churches and schools erected and equipped by Mother Katherine Drexel shows the extent of her generous donations for schools and churches for the Indians and for the Negroes in Indian Territory. A *Prospectus of Saint John's Boarding School,* Gray Horse, Oklahoma, under the direction of the Christian Schools furnishes information on the object, courses, and general regulations of this school when it passed from the control of the Franciscan Sisters. Newspaper clippings and photographs of the Indian schools in the course of their erection are also to be found in these files.

FORT SMITH, ARKANSAS

In St. Patrick's Church adjoining St. Ann's Academy, may be found the Register of Marriages for Fort Smith and the Missions Attached Thereto 1845-1897: The Baptismal Register July 30, 1884 to October 1869, also Registerum Baptism [sic] 1857-1900 signed by Fathers Lawrence and Michael Smyth. These records are not only of historical value to one writing on early church history in the diocese of Arkansas, of which Indian Territory was then a part, but for one interested in the social conditions and political events of the period. Not only are the names and dates of persons baptized recorded, but in the margins numerous comments have been made. During the Civil War the church was occupied by Federal troops and the records in some places mutilated by them. When recovered after the conflict, the partial erasure of Yankee drawings and the caustic comments inserted by the pastor in the margin of the Baptismal Records gave strong evidence of his southern sympathies. Baptisms of slaves, prisoners condemned to be executed who were visited by the Sisters of Mercy, bits of local history, the time of departure and return from missionary trips to the Indian Territory, make these early records of more than passing historical worth.

GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA

In the archives of the Benedictine Sisters at St. Joseph Convent are preserved the Community Records dating back to 1889, the year of their coming to the Territory. Among these are the *Scriptorium,* a record of work of the community, its growth in members, material development, and incidents connected with its general history. There is a priceless manuscript copy of the Memoirs of Sister Anselma, begun at Carolton, Pennsylvania, in October, 1819. It is the story of the foundation in Creston, Iowa, its trials, vicissitudes, new members, and the final removal of the Motherhouse to Guthrie. In addition to these there are lists of schools under the care of the Benedictine Sisters, letters, reports, deeds, and various other documents of historical value. As is the case with practically all the institutions in Oklahoma, the manuscript material concerning their development since statehood is far greater than that concerning Territorial days.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

In the extensive newspaper collection of Nazareth Convent several printed articles are found, particularly those referring to Bishop Meerschaert's appeal for funds for the Indian Territory. A *Scrap Book* with clippings of the yellow fever epidemic in 1876 was helpful.

LOUVAIN, BELGIUM

There are over nine hundred letters written to the rectors of the American college by priests, more than two score of whom were working in Indian Territory from 1891-1907. From *The Little Star of the Black Belt,* Lynchburg, Virginia, edited by Reverend J. Anciaux, later pastor at Langston, Indian Territory, much of the story of the Church and school for Negroes at that place may be obtained. Clippings from *The Living Age,* a non-Catholic magazine for the colored race, published at Langston, are also useful. The *American College Bulletin,* Vols. I to VII, has a list of the alumni in the Prefecture Apostolic, the dates and incidents of ordinations and departures, and numerous letters written from the Indian Territory. These are rich sources of Church history in Oklahoma, and often give an insight into conditions that could not be found elsewhere.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

The most valuable document in the Chancery Office is the private Diary of Bishop Meerschaert. The more important events beginning in 1889 and extending to the time of his death in 1924 were jotted down on the blank pages of an Ordo. Here is recorded, in some twenty or more of these books, a short autobiography, his appointments before coming to the Territory, his appointment as Vicar Apostolic and the events connected with his consecration, departure, and reception in Guthrie. From 1891 there is kept a consistent, sometimes daily account of the Bishop's activities; his appointments, ordinations, confirmations, lectures, trips in the Territory, the United States, and in Europe, all these are to be found on pages where household accounts, salaries paid, and items connected with his daily life are likewise listed. That the busy Bishop had little time for details is evidenced by the brevity of most of the entries. Abbreviations are common, and spelling often phonetic, but the Diary as a whole takes on the nature of a fast moving narrative.

A wealth of statistical material is in the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Association. Among the thousands of documents that concerned the history of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Plains groups are reports, contracts, applications, as well as much correspondence between the superintendents at Sacred Heart, Anadarko, Chickasha, and Purcell concerning the schools over which they had charge. The quarterly reports, with a list of teachers employed, students enrolled and the produce of field and orchard, gives evidence of the general progress of the schools. These manuscripts are in the files of each tribe under the general heading of Schools. Letters from the pupils of the Catholic Indian mission schools to the Indian Agent are in the files of the Sac and Fox as well as those of the Potawatomie.

PAWHUSKA, OKLAHOMA

At the Osage Indian Agency is preserved the greatest collection of tribal records within the state. Among the manuscripts in the Miscellaneous Correspondence file are: two letters of Father Shoenmakers; the list of pupils who enrolled at St. Louis School the first year; the first report of Mother Mary De Sales who was in charge of the school; a number of letters from the Osage Indian Agent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding the two Catholic mission schools; a series of letters between the Agent and Commissioner concerning the request of Father Edward Van Waeberghe for land for church purposes; vouchers, petitions of the Osage Council for additional school funds; complaints and an occasional letter from a school child or its parents. The Gibson File contains much worth-while material including: a report of Inspector Edward Kemble regarding the repeated request of the Osage for Catholic missionaries; Osage petition to Ewing dated 1874; petition against Catholic teachers, 1875, signed by nine Osage; excerpts from eastern newspapers and letters from Agent Gibson to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Of particular interest, though of doubtful historical value, is the stenographic report regarding historical data of the first Catholic Church. This formed the proceedings of a meeting held in the parish hall May 23, 1937. At this time questions were asked some of the old settlers and their answers recorded in an effort to preserve some of the past history of the Catholic beginnings in Pawhuska. Because of the scholarly interest of Miss Lillian Mathews, the curator at Osage Agency, many interesting documents have been brought to light during the past few years and made available to students of history.

At St. Louis School the Sisters of Loretto have a number of School Registers that give the attendance of Indian children from 1889-1907. There may also be found a few statements of receipts and expenditures and other items of minor importance.

PERRY, OKLAHOMA

In the private files of Father Urban de Hasque, pastor of St. Rose of Lima Church, are documents of prime value: lists of Oklahoma priests, churches, parishes, transfers, etc.; his attractive pictorial history of Oklahoma churches; his notes taken from a complete file of *Les Missions Catholiques;* copies of his own personal manuscripts as well as copies of manuscripts which he made from the archives of the Benedictine Fathers at Pierre-qui-Vire, France.

PIERRE-QUI-VIRE, FRANCE

The richest depository of primary material is the monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire. It was from here that the first Benedictine foundation was made in the South, on the Isle of Good Hope near Savannah, Georgia. Only two survived the yellow fever epidemic in 1876 and these joined Father Robot at Sacred Heart, Indian Territory, where he had made a second foundation. The original letters and reports of Father Robot, Father Ignatius Jean, and other Benedictines at Sacred Heart to the Abbot of Pierre-qui-Vire are to be found in the archives of the monastery. A lengthy manuscript describes Father Robot's trip to America and his near death from shipwreck. Though suppressed by the French government in 1880, the monastery is again in the hands of the Benedictines. Father Paul is the present librarian and archivist.

SACRED HEART, OKLAHOMA

In the archives of the Benedictine Fathers of Sacred Heart Priory are found the most important of all the materials for this vicinity. Of all the manuscripts here the Annals of Sacred Heart Mission 1876-1907 are the most valuable. They record the coming of the first colaborers of Father Robot; the incidents connected with the erection of Sacred Heart Monastery, the missionary trips among the various Indian tribes; the growth and development of the new foundation; the erection of the novitiate, ordinations, deaths, and every event of importance connected with the Benedictine Fathers. From it too, may be gathered the intimate side of the life in the monastery; the hardships of a life under the rule of primitive observance; amusing incidents, days of special festivities; the occasions when distinguished visitors were welcome guests and whose presence afforded much joy to the religious. Every appointment made by the Prefects Apostolic, new churches dedicated, schools opened, records of retreats, missions, baptisms, are only a part of the historic matter in these community reports. Other manuscripts include a record of Churches Built and Missions Established by the Benedictine Fathers. This gives the year, the place and the name of the priest through whose efforts the new churches were erected. Records of Priests Educated at Sacred Heart, both secular and religious, who were educated and ordained at Sacred Heart. Lists of the deceased members of the community are helpful in reckoning the years of service of the Fathers. Two other manuscripts deserve special mention. Reminiscences and Memoirs of

Brother John Laracy gives an intimate picture of this kindly lay brother, who is living today. Arriving in the Territory in 1879 he has crowded into the pages of his memoirs a vivid picture of the Potawatomie country as seen by one from New England. Recollections of a Missionary Trip 1885, by Reverend Hilary Cassal, is a very lengthy document on a trip made in the western part of Indian Territory and extending from the first of October until the end of the month. Its value is to be found in the persons, places, and circumstances connected with the trip. The files, likewise, contain many other valuable bits of history; albums of pictures of the fathers, students, activities incident to the life of the monastery and school.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

A treasure house of Osage history is found in the Writings of Father Paul Mary Ponziglione, S. J., whose thirty-eight years of service (1852-1890) among the Osage, both in Kansas and Indian Territory, has been preserved in a collection of manuscripts in the archives of the Missouri Province of the Society of Jesus, St. Louis University. These consist, in part, in the Annales Missiones S. Francesci de Heronymo a Patribus Societatis Jesu institutae apud Indos Americae Septentrionalis Osageos dictos compiled in three notebooks; the Annales, which give a list of priests who worked among the Osages from 1827 to 1889 and a list giving the dates and localities of missionary stations begun by the Jesuits. Sixteen of these stations were within what is now the present state of Oklahoma. More important, however, is the Western Missions Journal, 10 Volumes. Here are recorded the missionary activities of Father Ponziglione between 1867 and 1890. No less interesting than the history are the Journals themselves. The volumes are each an average five cent notebook in which Father Ponziglione has written in legible English a detailed account not only of his trips among the Osages and other tribes but his work among the white settlers, visits to the army posts and mining camps. The writings in the Osage language include A Collection of Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and Holy Days; an Osage Dictionary and Hymn Book; Instruction on the Christian Doctrine for the Teaching of the Osage Indians Residing on the Neosho and Verdigres, State of Kansas, North America. From this collection of manuscripts one catches a glimpse of a kindly man of deep spirituality, a historian of natural bent and careful scholarship. The Jesuits in the Kaw Valley, a typewritten manuscript by Father John F. O'Connor, S. J., is useful for the story of Sugar Creek Mission. It was from this mission that Jesuit missionaries made their first trips into Indian Territory. It is a work based almost wholly on source material. A copy of this is available at St. Louis University.

SHAWNEE, OKLAHOMA

The files of the Benedictine Fathers at St. Gregory's Abbey contain some material on the Church in the Territory, though they are much richer in matter that pertains to the time after statehood. Among the manuscripts is a file of Correspondence between the Benedictine Fathers and the Vicar Apostolic. Of particular value was a lengthy Report in the handwriting of Father Robot giving an account of the state of the Prefecture Apostolic in 1880. It is written in French and consists of answers, for the most part in detail, to sixty-four questions. They are concerned with the circumstances under which the Benedictines came to the Indian Territory, the condition of the country, the number of priests, the needs of the missions, financial conditions, and other questions concerning the spiritual life of the monastery. Papal documents, deeds, blue prints, financial reports, and a very few letters are other sources found in these files.

SOUTH BEND, INDIANA

The valuable archives of Notre Dame University contain only one or two manuscripts of interest to this story. The newspaper files, however, are particularly rich. Among those the *Freeman's Journal* is of importance.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. This agency was established in 1874 and is an institution through which the affairs of the Indian missions are transacted with the United States Indian Office. The Bureau was the direct result of President Grant's "Indian Peace Policy" of December, 1870, in which he determined to give the agencies to such religious denominations as had before established missionaries among the Indians. In 1870 there were seventy-two Indian agencies, and in thirty-eight of these Catholic missionaries had been the first to establish themselves. Despite the fact, only eight were assigned to the Catholic Church. This caused 80,000 Catholic Indians to pass from Catholic to Protestant control.

At the instigation of the bishops under whose jurisdiction there were Indians, Archbishop Boyley, on January 2, 1874, appointed General Charles Ewing, Catholic Commissioner, and Reverend Felix Barotti, Treasurer. On June 14, 1881, the Bureau was incorporated under the general corporation laws of the United States. Father Branillet died in 1884, and Reverend J. A. Stephan was appointed to succeed him. Ten years later the old organization was superceded by a new corporation chartered in perpetuity by an act of the General Assembly of Maryland. The corporate title is "The Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions." Father Stephan was director until his death in 1901 and was succeeded by Father Willard Ketcham, the first priest ordained by Bishop Meerschaert.

Since all the Catholic Indian schools in Oklahoma and Indian Territory were connected with the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, the files of this institution hold a vast amount of documentary material.

The files are arranged chronologically and the material concerning the schools is found under date of their establishment. The manuscripts include: letters of Bishop Meerschaert; correspondence and reports from the Benedictine Fathers and the Sisters in charge of the various Indian schools; letters from parents, students, soldiers at the army posts and frequently letters from civilians; the petitions of the Osage for missionaries and religious teachers; their difficulties with the Indian agent, and affairs at the Osage agency. No other single depository contains so great an amount of manuscript material pertinent to the organization and development of Indian schools in Oklahoma.

In the manuscript collection of Georgetown University may be found Father Ponziglione's Osage Prayer Book and Short Catechism, and Osage Hymns with English translations.

In the files of the Indian Office may be found the incoming correspondence from the Indian superintendents, the missionaries agents and oftentimes from the Indians themselves. The material is for most part unclassified and is to be found in bundles under the name of the Indian Tribes. The Division of Maps has several hundred of Oklahoma, ranging in date from 1835. The most useful of these, however, appear in "Indian Land Cessions in the United States" compiled by Charles C. Royce, published in the Eighteenth Annual *Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* to the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896-97, Washington 1899, Part 2.

PRINTED MATERIALS

Acta Sanctae Sedis, Rome, Vol. IX, 1885, 425-426, has two decrees pertaining to Indian Territory.

American College Bulletin, Louvain, Belgium, 1903-1907.

This quarterly publication contains many items of value on the Indian Territory. Practically every one of the seven volumes has some articles in reference to the Church or the priests working in the Territory. The names, dates of ordination, departures, visits, reprints of letters written from the Indian Territory to the American College, deaths, parish assignments are a few of the items recorded. It represents one source of information concerning the work of the secular clergy of which scant record has been preserved. Besides Right Reverend Bishop Meerschaert and the Very Reverend Gustave Depreitere, Vicar General, the American College sent to Indian Territory twenty-three priests between 1893-1907; all are mentioned in the work.

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (Recueil Périodique des lettres des Evêques et des missionaires des Missions des deux mondes, et de tous les documents relatifs aux missions et à l'oeuvre de la propagation de la foi.), 72 vols., Lyons and Paris, 1823-1900.

The first volume records the visit of the Osage chiefs to Bishop Du Bourg. Volume 69 gave an account of the death of Father Robot, and volumes 49 to 80 contain records of contributions made to Indian Territory under the Prefecture and during the vicariate.

Annals of the Catholic Indian Missions of America, Washington, 1877.

This series of publications by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions contains a great amount of material concerning the Indian Territory, most of which can be obtained from the *Indian Advocate.* One issue dated January 6, 1877, contained a lengthy letter from Father Robot shortly after his arrival at Atoka, Indian Territory. It describes a trip covering a distance of 1065 miles, made among the Indian tribes. Other incidents mentioned include the erection of the Prefecture, the proposed location of a mission school, and other matters of particular interest to the Indian Territory.

Atoka Independent, Atoka, Indian Territory, March 1, 1877, July 27, 1877, August 23, 1878.

Reference to trips made by Father Robot among the Indian tribes.

Atoka Vindicator, Atoka, Indian Territory, January 26, March 1, April 12, April 19, December 13, 1876.

Chronicles the services at the Catholic Church in Atoka, the opening of school, and trips made by Father Robot to the military forts and Indian reserves.

Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana, January 20, 1877.

Supports and approves Mr. McMaster's plan for helping Father Robot in Indian Territory.

Barney, Ralph A., *Laws Relating to the Osage Tribe of Indiana, May 18, 1824 to March 2, 1929,* Washington, 1929.

Consists of Acts of Congress relating to Osage affairs. It lists the Appropriation Acts of the Department of the Interior.

Carroll, Mary Theresa Austin, *Leaves from the Annals of the Sisters of Mercy,* 4 volumes, New York, 1889.

Contains sketches of the Order in Hispanic America and the United States. Chapters XLIII and LI tells of the foundation in Arkansas with several references to Indian Territory.

Catholic Advocate, New York, January 30, 1879, Vol. X, No. 34.

In an article entitled "The Indian's Need," a plea is made for a more humane and just treatment of the Indian. It concludes that it is the interest of all, Catholic and non-Catholic, that the religious be sustained in their work, given the necessary means, and be encouraged with the approval and support of the people.

Catholic Church in the United States of America, 2 volumes, New York, 1908.

Volume I is devoted to the religious communities in the United States. The original plan was to create a living portrayal of Catholic progress and development in the United States in honor of the golden jubilee of Pope Pius X. The articles are scholarly, exact, and are in almost every case signed. The articles on the Benedictine Fathers in Oklahoma, signed by Abbot Murphy, traces briefly the story of Sacred Heart Mission from 1877 to 1907. The table of statistics covering three decades is of special value.

Catholic Home, Oklahoma City, September 8, 1923.

This paper was the successor to the *Orphan's Record* and remained the diocesan organ until replaced by the *Southwest Courier.* This issue is known as the Thirty-Second Anniversary Number, in honor of Right Reverend Theophile Meerschaert. Its historical value lies in the "Account of Right Reverend Bishop Meerschaert's Activities in the Diocese of Oklahoma as Taken from His *Private Diary.*" The articles are arranged chronologically from 1889 to 1921. February 23, and March 1, 1924, numbers contain incidents connected with the death of Bishop Meerschaert.

Catholic Telegraph, Cincinnati, October 24, 1901, Vol. 23, No. 16.

Contains an appeal of Bishop Meerschaert for help in his labor among the Indians, with an account of the vicariate in 1891 and of the growth during the previous ten years.

Chicago Times, February 28, 1878. "Injustice to Catholics."

Refers to the Indian mission schools.

Chimes. A Benedictine Quarterly Review published at Buckfast Abbey, II (July, 1922), No. 7.

This special number is devoted to the past history of Buckfast Abbey, but records the death of Rt. Rev. Abbot Natter, O. S. B., August 4, 1906, when the ship Sirio sank near the coast of Spain. A likeness of Father Thomas Dupérou, first Abbot of Sacred Heart Indian Territory, as first Superior of the restored Buckfast, as well as many pictures of the ancient Abbey lend interest to the story.

Dunn, John E., *Memorial to Very Reverend Lawrence Smyth.* Fort Smith, 1900. 81pp.

Ex. Doc., No. 6, Senate, 44th Congress, 1st Sess., December 17, 1875.

This gives an investigation of the affairs of the Osage Indian Agency with an abstract of the evidence and charges against the Indian agent. Several references are given to his interference with petitions for Catholic schools and missionaries.

Graves, W. W., *Annals of Osage Missions,* St. Paul, Kansas, 1935.

The material contained in the publication of 490 pages has been collected "from hundreds of sources including personal knowledge, interviews, books, pamphlets, manuscripts, old letters and newspapers."

Guy, Reverend F. S., The Catholic Church in Arkansas (1541-1843). Ms., M. A. Thesis, Catholic University Library, 57pp.

Hasque, Very Reverend Urban de, *Saint Patrick's Indian Mission of Anadarko Oklahoma,* 1891-1915, n. d.

This historical sketch written by the former chancellor of the diocese was one of several publications of St. Joseph's Orphanage dealing with the history of the Church in Oklahoma. The pamphlet contains twenty-six pages.

Historical Sketch, Quarter Century's Incipience, Growth and Development of the Holy Family Parish, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 1899-1924.

The contents of this work is indicated by the sub-title. In the two hundred pages written from the parish records one is able to see the remarkable development of the parish whose frame church in 1899 measured only 30 x 50 and is a quarter century later replaced by a million dollar edifice, Holy Family Co-Cathedral, one of the most beautiful edifices in the Southwest. Illustrations of the old church and school, pictures of all the pastors who have been appointed to the parish, various societies, lists of those who helped to finance the new church and a list of the parishioners makes this Silver Jubilee number a record of no small value.

House Ex. Docs., No. 131, 41 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. XII, February 11, 1871. Serial No. 1460.

Communication to obtain the consent of the Osage to move to Indian Territory.

House Ex. Docs., No. 152, 42 Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. X, February 17, 1872. Serial No. 1513.

Appropriation for settlement, subsistence, and support of Osage.

House Ex. Docs., No. 146, 42 Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. X, February 15, 1872. Serial No. 1512.

Expenses necessary for the removal of the Osage.

House Ex. Docs., No. 142, 42 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. VIII, January 30, 1873. Serial No. 1566.

Estimate on appropriations to pay Osage annual interest of 5 per cent on proceeds of sales of Osage trust and diminished reserve lands.

House Ex. Docs., No. 183, 42 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. IX, February 4, 1873. Serial No. 1567.

Amendment to appropriation bill for removal of Great and Little Osage from Kansas in accordance with treaty.

House Misc. Docs., No. 49, 40 Cong., 3rd Sess., February 15, 1869. Serial No. 1385.

This is a protest against the ratification of the treaty with the Great and Little Osage.

Indian Advocate, Sacred Heart, Indian Territory, 1888-1910, 22 volumes.

Begun by the second Prefect Apostolic, this quarterly has the distinction of being the first Catholic publication in the Territory. It remained the diocesan organ until 1910 when chiefly through lack of support it was discontinued. The paper had for its object the cause of the Indians and was an attempt to give a history of their progress toward civilization. In 1888 only one issue appeared, the Prospectus. The year following it came out as a quarterly, of four pages of small in-folio size. In 1893 it was published in Royal Octavo size of twenty-four pages. In 1902 it was reduced to regular Octavo dimensions with the pages numbering thirty-six. From 1902 to June, 1910, the last issue, it was published each month. Only two complete files of this publication are known to exist. One is found at Sacred Heart Priory at Sacred Heart, Oklahoma, and the other in the private collection of Reverend Urban de Hasque. At Smithsonian Institute in Washington, D. C., the following volumes may be found: 6-22 (1894-1910). The files of the *Indian Advocate* are rich in the history of the early Benedictines in the Territory, missionary and educational. It recorded news from each of the Indian missions, biographical sketches of the priests in the Territory, the coming of the various religious orders of women, deaths, ordinations, personal notes, changes in parishes, statistics that indicated the growth in the Catholic population, both Indian and white. Through its wide publication the needs of the Territory were brought to the attention of persons throughout the country and as a consequence much assistance was given to the Indians at the mission schools. The early issues devoted columns strictly to the work of the Church and for that reason it is practically the only printed source of the Church's history during Territorial days. The articles were well written, and have real historical value.

Indian Sentinel. An annual published in the interest of the Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian children by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Washington, 1902-1938.

The issues of this small publication, consisting generally of fifty odd pages, contain much of value to the Indian Mission schools in Indian Territory. Of these, certain numbers are of particular interest to this study. Namely, the 1902-1903 number, for its appeal on behalf of the Catholic Indian schools; "The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament

Number," 1907, which contains an excellent account of Mother Katherine Drexel and also an article on St. Mary's Academy at Sacred Heart; "The Archbishop Ryan Number," for the account of St. Louis Industrial School at Pawhuska and St. John's at Gray Horse; "Our Lady of Guadalupe Number," 1914, for splendid accounts of Sacred Heart Institute at Vinita, St. Agnes School, Antlers, as well as the items on missionary work among the Choctaws; "The Father de Smet Number," 1916, continues the story of "In Choctaw Lands" and includes a worth-while article on Matthias Spitlog, one of the best known Catholic Indians in the Territory. The *Indian Sentinel* is a source for Catholic Indian history, not only in Oklahoma but wherever Catholic Indian missions are located.

Les Bénédictins de Sainte Marie de la Pierre-qui-Vire (Diocèse de Sens). Pamphlet printed at Monastère de Sainte Marie de la Pierre-qui-Vire par Quarre les Tombes in 1877.

This little study containing seventy-four pages is a brief history of the founding of the monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire and a discussion of monastic life under the rule of the primitive observance.

Les Missions Catholiques (Bulletin hebdomadaire illustré de L'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi. Lettres et recits des Missionaires, Voyages, Géographie, Sciences, Arts, Cartes et Gravures inédites. A Lyon, au bureau des Missions Catholiques, rue d'Auvergne 6).

From January 26, 1877, until March 29, 1901, practically every issue of this publication gave some space to affairs in the Indian Territory. The articles included letters from Father Isidore Robot and other Benedictines at Sacred Heart; decrees of the Propaganda such as naming Father Robot titular Abbot; the erection of the Novitiate at Sacred Heart and others; resignations, appointments, deaths, statistics, recruits, the beginning of new mission schools, erection of churches, missionary trips, the progress and development of the vicariate, the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic, in short, scores of articles concerning the Church in Indian Territory.

Letters and Notices, 50 volumes, Roehampton, England, 1863-1935.

A publication by the Society of Jesus for private circulation only. Of interest to this study are the letters of Father Colleton and one of Father Ponziglione regarding the work at Osage Mission.

Little Star of the Black Belt, Lynchburg, Virginia, September, 1902, Vol. I, No. 2.

The value of this small monthly publication is that it was edited by Father J. Anciaux who worked so zealously in the Territory in behalf of the Negro. The article entitled "Langston and Oklahoma" gave a worth-while picture of "little Africa." The publication had a number of reprints from other Catholic papers.

Louisville Catholic Advocate, Louisville, Kentucky, November 6, 1876.

Article concerning the yellow fever epidemic at the Isle of Hope, near Savannah, Georgia.

Lucy, Reverend John M., *Souvenir of a Silver Jubilee,* Little Rock, 1892.

This small publication, consisting of thirty-two pages, is a simple narrative of the Church in Arkansas. It represents for the most part items jotted down from personal recollections or from conversations with persons familiar with the events. In it one may find a record of the visits made by priests from the diocese of Arkansas, of which the Indian Territory was a part until 1876. It gives a worth-while picture of the diocese at that time, of the Indian Territory, and the Forts where the priests made frequent visits. The value of the narrative is that it is one of the very few publications on the Church in Arkansas, and what is mentioned concerning the visits of priests from Fort Smith is substantiated by the Baptism and Marriage Records.

Memorial Volume. A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. November 9 to December 7, 1884. Baltimore, 1885.

Contains a brief sketch of the life of Father Robot and an excellent picture of him.

Mills, Lawrence, *The Lands of the Five Civilized Tribes,* St. Louis, 1919.

A treatise upon the law applicable to the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes with a compilation of all treaties, federal acts, laws of Arkansas, and of the several tribes relating thereto, together with the rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior governing the sale of tribal lands, the leasing and sale of alloted lands and the removal of restrictions.

Morning Star, New Orleans, Louisiana, December 6, 1876.

New Orleans Morning Star, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 22, 1880.

New York Freeman's Journal and Catholic Register, 76 volumes, New York, 1840-1909.

From the date of the erection of the Prefecture and the appointment of Father Robot, the *Freeman's Journal,* under the direction of the aggressive James McMaster, began to record events connected with it. The extensive correspondence between Father Robot and Mr. McMaster is important. For three years, 1876-1879, the letters of the Prefect Apostolic appeared in *Freeman's Journal.* Father Robot wrote not only interesting letters but very long ones. They ranged in length from five pages to twelve and one consisted of twenty. During the year 1879 this newspaper devoted a large amount of space to the "Confraternity for Reparation to the Indians," a plan for raising

funds for the Prefecture Apostolic. Each week during the entire year, the contributions received were listed and very frequently a number of letters received were published. In addition there are dozens of editorials devoted to the cause of the Prefecture. During this year, too, the difficulties between the *Freeman's Journal* and the *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions* grew out of the journal soliciting funds, an infringement on the rights claimed by the Bureau. Scathing editorials, sometimes two double columns in length, set forth the attitude of the editor toward the attacks on his pet plan. He emerged triumphant, it seems, for the Confraternity received the blessing of the Holy Father, the amount desired was collected, and peace reigned once again in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal.* Of historical value are later issues of this paper, particularly during 1880-1884. After that date, however, the Prefecture did not seem to receive any publicity from this source. The *Freeman's Journal* is a source not only for the history of the Church in Indian Territory but has many articles of value concerning the Church in other parts of the southwest. The Journal began in 1840, absorbed the *Catholic Register* in 1841, and in 1910 passed out of existence.

New York Tablet, New York, Saturday, June 1, 1878, on the Catholic Indian Bureau; Saturday, August 24, 1876, account of yellow fever in the South with particular reference to Savannah, Georgia; June 1, 1878, reference to the difficulty between the *Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions* and the *Freeman's Journal* over funds for the Indian Territory; September 21, 1878, an appeal of John Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York for funds for the South stricken by yellow fever.

Oeuvre des Missions Catholiques des Etats-Unis D'Amérique, Rome, 1879.

A small pamphlet published by the Propaganda in the interest of the Catholic missions of the United States. It contains a letter of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda recommending the work to all the bishops of the United States. It has also a brief explanation of the Bureau itself; the object of the work, in what it consists and its personnel. There is an estimate made of the number of Indians in the United States, those who are Catholic or the descendents of Catholics. The last page is devoted to an appeal for support and a list of the hierarchy approving the project.

Oklahoma Daily Capital, Guthrie, Indian Territory, September 29, 1889.

Orphan's Record, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1915-1924, 11 volumes.

This was the second Catholic monthly to appear in Oklahoma. Of particular interest is Volume I, characterized by the number of articles

on matters of historical interest in the diocese. Many of these are signed and are all scholarly. They include such items as Catholic buildings erected; Catholic churches incorporated; news from each of the parishes; reports from the various religious congregations; changes among the clergy; Episcopal appointments and other subjects of purely historical character. Unfortunately the later volumes of this publication did not continue recording Church history as was done the first year. Although all the succeeding issues fall far short of that of of 1915 there are some that are of definite historic worth.

Purcell Register, Purcell, Oklahoma, March 30, 1893.

A tribute by a non-Catholic, to the Benedictine Fathers at Sacred Heart.

Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, 1820, to the present time.

It is one of the richest sources for the history of Presbyterian missionary activity with a substantial reference to their work in Indian Territory.

Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1832-1937.

Contains reports from the missionaries and those in charge of the various Indian schools. In 1832 the office was established in the War Department and continued there until 1849. At this date it was removed to the Department of the Interior.

Reports of the Governor of Oklahoma Territory, Washington, 1893-1906.

A general description of the Territory, its natural resources, attractions, future possibilities with tables of statistics showing the industrial development and other features are contained in these yearly reports. Of particular value are the statistics showing the number of Catholic churches, priests, chapels, stations, residences, church membership, schools for whites, colored, and Indians, and even the Sunday schools with their number in attendance. They serve as an index to the growth of the Catholic Church in the Territory.

Revista Catolica, Las Vegas, New Mexico, April 30, 1893. Excursion of Reverend P. Salvador Personé, S. J., from Trinidad, Colorado, to the Mexican settlement in western Oklahoma. November 4, 1894, Father Personé describes another visit to the same Mexican settlement in company with Bishop Meerschaert.

Robot, Right Reverend Dom Isidore, *The Life of the Reverend Mary John Baptist Muard.* Founder of the Missionary Priests of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Mary of Pierre-qui-Vire. Translated from the French of the Abbe Brulée, New York and Cincinnati, 1882.

This is the first printed account of the foundation of the Benedictine monastery of Pierre-qui-Vire, the Motherhouse of the Benedictine Fathers of Sacred Heart. It is evidence, too, of the untiring energy of the first Prefect Apostolic, who in the midst of labors in the wilds of Indian Territory could devote time to work of this nature.

Sadlier's Catholic Directory, Almanac and Ordo, New York, 1864-1889; also *Hoffman's Catholic Directory, Almanac and Clergy List,* 1886-1907.

These directories contain very valuable statistical lists.

Senate Mis. Docs., No. 137, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. II, April 11, 1872, Serial No. 1478.

Confirmation of the reservation in Indian Territory to Great and Little Osage.

Schmeckebier, Laurence F., *The Office of Indian Affairs, Its History, Activities and Organizations* (Service Monograph of the United States Government, 48), Baltimore, 1927.

A detailed study of the relationship between the United States government and the Indian Tribes to the year 1928. The periods of allotment and citizenship, particularly since 1887 is developed in detail. The removal of the Indians is briefly discussed. The tables of statistics, the maps and table of reservations and agencies are of service to the study of Indian Territory.

Southern Messenger, San Antonio, Texas, April 6, 1905.

This issue contains an article reprinted from *The Living Age,* Langston, Oklahoma, Territory. It tells the story of the establishment of Holy Family Colored School, of the first teachers, and the school's growth and successful operation.

Thwaites, R. C., *Early Western Travels,* 1848-1856, 32 volumes, Cleveland, 1904-1907.

From this compilation of western history, an excellent account of the Territory in the early part of the century was written by Thomas Nuttalls, *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819,* XIII, Cleveland, 1905.

Woodstock Letters (A Record of the Current Events and Historical Notes connected with the Colleges and Missions of the Society of Jesus), 67 volumes, Woodstock, Maryland, 1872-1938.

In this series printed for private circulation volumes III-IX, XI-XIII, XVIII, embracing the years 1874-1889, contain material pertinent to this study. The missionary trips made by Father Ponziglione, S. J., into the Indian Territory and the incidents connected with such visits are some of the items in these reports that help to show the extent of Jesuit activity in Indian Territory.

Wallrapp, Reverend James J., *Our Lady of Prompt Succor Church,* n. d.

A booklet of 35 pages published some time before statehood.

SECONDARY WORKS

BOOKS

Barnaba, Sister Mary, O. S. F., *A Diamond Crown for Christ the King.* A Story of the First Franciscan Foundation in Our Country 1855-1930, Glen Riddle, Pennsylvania, 1930.

Baska, Sister Mary Regina, O. S. B., *The Benedictine Congregation of Saint Scholastica: Its Foundation and Development (1852-1930).* The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, XX, Washington, 1935.

Catholic Encyclopedia. 15 volumes, New York, 1907.

Clarke, Richard Henry, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States,* New York, 1888.

Code, Reverend Joseph Bernard, *Great American Foundresses,* New York, 1929.

Dehey, E. T., *Religious Orders of Women in the United States,* rev. ed., Hammond, Indiana, 1930.

Fitzgerald, Sister Mary Paul, The Osage Mission: A Factor in the Making of Kansas, Ms., Ph. D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1936.

By far the most scholarly treatment of the Jesuit Mission at St. Paul, Kansas. The manuscript collection of Father Ponziglione in the archives of St. Louis University was the inspiration of this work. The development of the Mission was studied against a background of Government Indian policy, missionary endeavor and Indian life and customs. Based almost wholly on primary materials it is of importance to any one writing on the Osage Indians.

Gately, Sister Mary Josephine, *The Sisters of Mercy.* Historical Sketches (1831-1931). New York, 1931.

The history of the Sisters of Mercy is told "from historical matter gathered from five continents." The sketch on St. Mary's School at Sacred Heart is disappointing.

Gittinger, Roy, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906.* University of California Publications in History, Volume VI, Berkeley, 1917.

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SISTER URSULA THOMAS, O. S. B.

Notes and Comment

FUR TRADE

Students of the history of the Upper Missouri region in the fur-trading period will find an indispensable aid for their purpose in Dr. Annie Heloise Abel's edition of *Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark 1834-1839* (Pierre, South Dakota, 1932). The journal, not previously published and since its publication somewhat overlooked, is, for all its prosaic detail, a revealing and often vivid picture of conditions in the fur trade and of the accompanying relations between Indians and whites at a remote post in frontier days. The value of the document is enormously enhanced by the editor's introduction and notes. Some eighty pages of illustrative documents, most of them published for the first time, are also included in the volume, which is rounded out by a highly detailed and most usable index. Francis S. Chardon was a typical and richly experienced trader who made contacts with most of the leading members of the fur-trading fraternity of his day, and his experiences at Fort Clark in the present North Dakota, one of the three principal posts of the American Fur Company, where he was in charge for a period, fill out the pages of his journal.

Dr. Abel's introduction to the journal is an objective and penetrating study of that perennially interesting phase of early American economic life, the fur trade, particularly as conducted on the Upper Missouri in Chardon's time. Intimate familiarity with the subject from the study of first-hand sources is evidenced on every page. The materials for thorough-going and critical analysis of the western fur trade during the frontier period are still for the most part unpublished, and it is on such materials that Dr. Abel based her study. As to the notes, they run to one hundred and twenty-three pages in rather fine print and collectively are a mine of authentic and otherwise practically inaccessible information regarding the careers of the early traders of the Upper Missouri region, the activities of the American Fur Company in the same area, and in general, life in all its phases as it went on in that far-flung section of the American scene. Straightforward comment upon the notes would be that they appear to be the most permanently valuable part of the volume.

To the general reader the most readable part of the journal is probably the pages telling of the terrible smallpox epidemic of 1837, which almost wiped the Mandan tribe out of existence. Chardon's data on the tragedy may seem unduly matter-of-fact, but they are poignantly significant.

All in all, Dr. Abel has made a contribution of the utmost value to a subject the treatment of which, in the present status of American historiography, is not any too well advanced. This contribution should long ago have received its merited notice in these pages. Students and readers will likewise find themselves under obligation to Dr. Lawrence K. Fox, under whose auspices as superintendent of the department of history of the State of South Dakota the volume was published.—G. J. G.

REPORT OF THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

The Report of the Newberry Library of Chicago, just issued, states that the library completed in 1937 fifty years since its establishment in 1887 as a reference library, and surveys briefly its record of service to serious students in the fields of American history, English literature, history of the art of printing, and other subjects connected with the so-called humanities.

One donation to the library during the past year is of special interest to students of early American history. This is a collection of books, formed by a trustee, Mr. William B. Greenlie, that comprises practically all the printed sources and secondary material dealing with the Portuguese discoveries and colonization in America of the sixteenth century. This acquisition supplements the material on the Spanish voyages and colonization of the same period in the Ayer section of the Newberry Library, and places at the service of students a wealth of valuable material.

The *Check List of Manuscripts,* issued by the library in 1937, has already brought to light a manuscript that became the subject of an article, "The Chronicle of Pérez de Ribas," in the April issue of MID-AMERICA, written by the editor of this quarterly.—W. S. M.

HISTORICAL NOVELS

Some novels are known to have distinct historical value. Novelists have been known to spend much time in gathering items from source books and even documents for the purpose of presenting a trustworthy picture of the past. But the purposes of the novel and of the historical writing will forever remain divorced; even a good novel cannot be termed good history. Recently, an "historical" novel, *Black Forest,* by Meade Minningerode, was published as a part of the celebration of the passing of the Ordinance of 1787. It purports to tell the story of the George Rogers Clark campaign and brings in Father Gibault and his part in Clark's success. The story is unfortunately overladen with profanity, the idea of the author being possibly to make his characters more human.

In a note (p. 359) we find that "the author has taken minor liberties with the career of Father Gibault." One of the "minor liberties" might be the statement: "Father Gibault said that it might be disregarding the secret of the confessional to tell me, but that it would be a greater sin not to" (p. 215). Such a statement may have been introduced by an author for dramatic or patriotic or other reasons, and it might be included under the blanketing heading of a minor liberty. But it is major in its offensiveness, to both ecclesiastical and historical ears. If the novelist sought to extol the patriot priest, he succeeded by this characterization only in depriving him of both qualities of priestliness and patriotism. Gibault becomes Machiavellian by following the "end justifies the means" principle. He becomes a spurious patriot, one who cannot be trusted with anything if he cannot keep the secrecy of the confessional. Bad history, bad novel writing, and bad taste run together in this sentence.—E. O. M.

THINGS ARE BEING FOUND

For years past, historians have been making great wishes that certain things would turn up to rid them of troubles regarding mooted and apparently unsolvable problems. There are a number of perennial sources for debate because of a lack of authentic documentary evidence, and the points have both local and national interest. One subject of profound study and debate has been the question of Wineland, or the accurate story of the early Norse voyages to America. The trips of these early comers are open to disputed interpretations, since, to give one reason, the Saga of Eric the Red differs from an account in the Flatey Book. The termini of the journeys are debated. If some monument of stone or some writing had been left in America by Bjarni, or Leif, or Karlsefni, or some other, great advances could be made toward the solution of the problems: when and whereto did the Scandinavians come. A second puzzle has been that of the Roanoke colony of the English. If the people of the lost colony had only left some traces of their movements and fate, how convenient it would be for historians of today. Students of California history have long expressed both amazement and chagrin over the actions of the pirate Francis Drake, who spent some months off the coast of California and was not curious enough to go over the mountains to discover the beautiful Bay of San Francisco. Or did he? The Mississippi Valley and the plains beyond have contributed their share of mysteries. A point of controversy between Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska has been the location of Quivira, the end of the trail for Coronado. Another moot point has been the route followed by the famed *conquistador* De Soto and the scene of his death and burial. And these are merely some examples of facts which needed elucidation.

But now things are being found which have successively aroused debate. The Kensington Stone is considered by some as a partial solution of the Norse mystery. A brass plate, tentatively identified as belonging at one time to Drake's ship, was discovered over the mountains along the Bay of San Francisco. The description of this is written by Herbert E. Bolton in the California Historical Society Publication of last year. At the end of 1937, a quartz stone, was found in the east, having on its surface scratches which, if proved authentic by the many researchers laboring over them, are the writings of some member of Raleigh's Roanoke colony. The description of this is published in *The Journal of Southern History* for May, 1938. Coming out of the earth of northeastern Kansas, another inscription stone bears indications of having been a marker for the end of the Coronado expedition. The stone adds evidence to Winship's opinion about the site of Quivira, but still it does not settle the debate. Last year also, two coffins were accidentally unearthed on the river bank opposite Memphis. Newspapers carried stories to the effect that the remains within the coffins might be those of De Soto and his chief warrier. When litigation over the possession of the remains has run its course, perhaps something may be done in the way of investigation, in which this editor was asked to participate. This last named finding leaves the historian in a skeptical mood. Are too many things, long sought, being found?

THE JESUITS IN FLORIDA

Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu, January-June, 1938, has a well documented account in Spanish of "Pedro Martínez (1533-1566), La Primera Sangre Jesuítica en las Misiones Norteamericanas," by Félix Zubillaga, S. J., who is in Rome preparing documents on the Jesuits in Florida for publication. While the account reveals some new sources on the earlier life of Martínez, it is deficient as far as the Florida scene is concerned. Father Martínez, the early martyr of Florida, has interested readers by reason of his personality. He is admired for his brave act of landing on the shores of Florida, not so much, it appears, to evangelize the treacherous savages as to die for the faith. The story of his deed is rather well known.

Several points are not cleared up by the article, or, for that matter, by preceding writers, Astrain, Lowery, Kenny, Lanning, and Ugarte. The difficulties are these: Where did the Flemish boat carrying the missionary band, Martínez, Rogel, and Villarreal go after it broke from the westbound fleet? Why did not Menéndez supply it with a pilot? When and where did the *urca* arrive in Florida? After Martínez and his companions landed, a storm blew up. When the storm abated, why did not the captain of the boat try to pick up his men? Was there a mutiny aboard the boat? These questions were indicated and partly solved recently by a student at Loyola University in her Master's dissertation on the travels and work of Father Juan Rogel. From this study, it is apparent that the expedition was very badly managed. The Flemish boat left the fleet at the Virgin Islands and made its way to Havana, where it was to pick up a navigator. Waiting for some days, it at length put out for San Agustín without pilot or charts. An unruly spirit manifested itself in the crew as the craft drifted off Florida, for the members selected to go ashore refused at first to do so until Martínez led the way. The storm of hurricane proportions did not blow the boat south to Monte Cristi on northern Española. Rather, the sailors forced the captain to depart the Florida coast.

In spite of what has already been written about the Jesuits in Florida, the whole of their activity and especially their relations with Menéndez must be done over in a very careful manner. The points brought into question above are only a few of the many problems pertaining to the missionary advance into Florida.

NEW FORMAT

The editor of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Paul M. Angle, is to be congratulated upon the new format with which he begins the thirty-first volume of the publication, (March, 1938). History will continue to be served by means of accurate and scholarly articles, but added to these will be feature sections, "one, a chronological summary of events in Illinois during the preceding year, will appear annually in the first number of the calendar year." The other, entitled "The Illinois Scrapbook," will be found in each issue. The purpose of the latter lies in its flavor and entertainment. The first number quite achieves its several purposes. The first article, "Hell and High Water," by Richard L. Beyer, is a record of the disastrous flood of 1937 as it affected southern Illinois. Nelson V. Russell, in the second article, goes back into the long past to describe "The French and British at Play in the Old Northwest, 1760-1796." The third writer is Harry Evjen, and his subject is the "Illinois State University, 1852-1868."

VARIA

The Bruce Publishing Company of Milwaukee has brought out recently several books of more than passing note. A scholarly work, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education,* by Allan P. Farrell, S. J., will be reviewed in the next number of MID-AMERICA. Two other books are translations. *History of the Church,* by Joseph Lortz, is translated from the German by Edwin G. Kaiser. *Francisco Franco,* by Joaquín Arrarás, is translated by Dr. J. Manuel Espinosa.

A *General Index* to the first twenty volumes of *The Catholic Historical Review* has been compiled by Rev. Harold J. Bolton, S. T. D. It is published at the Catholic University of America, and may be obtained postpaid for two dollars. The compiler and the sponsors are to be congratulated upon the completion of this serviceable volume.

The Catholic Historical Review opened its twenty-fourth volume in April, 1938, with "The 'More Perfect Union': The Continental Congress Seeks a Formula," by Edmund C. Burnett. This timely and scholarly paper is followed by "The Children's Crusade," by Joseph E. Hansbery, and "French Diplomacy in Philadelphia, 1778-1779," by

John J. Meng. Thereafter, in reviews, notes and comments, notices, and periodical literature bibliographies, will be found a well-rounded survey of publications and items of interest to Catholic teachers and students.

After an unavoidable delay the *Annals* of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart has resumed publication under the editorship of Reverend Marion Habig, O. F. M.

Saint Albertus Magnus, a translation of twelve essays on the life of St. Albert the Great, by Reverend H. Wilms, O. P., has recently been printed by the Saint Catherine's Press of Racine, Wisconsin. The booklet of sixty-two pages is well bound and illustrated and contains historical information along with devotional practices of the great leader.

The Historical Bulletin, May, 1938, continues its series of short biographies of the popes who were prominent at the turning points of history. "Saint Pius the Fifth," by Pedro Leturia, of the Gregorian University, discusses the only canonized pope of modern times, especially in the relations between Rome and Constantinople and Geneva. John B. McGloin presents a brief treatment of Bishop Patrick Lynch of Charleston, South Carolina, in the special capacity of Commissioner to Rome of the Confederate States. Father Francis S. Betten clears up some misconceptions regarding "That Holy Roman Empire."

The Florida Historical Quarterly carried an article on "The Landing of De Soto," by John R. Swanton, in its January, 1938, number, and published in translation a letter written by the conqueror from Florida in 1539. Other space was devoted to "The Arrival of De Soto's Expedition in Florida," by Mark F. Boyd.

December, 1937, marked the passing of Mr. Wilberforce Eames, chief bibliographer of the New York Public Library, well known for his compilations and for his generous assistance to students of history.

Professor William Kenneth Boyd, distinguished for his many works on history pertaining to the South, died in January of this year.

Book Reviews

The Older Middle West, 1840-1880. By Henry Clyde Hubbart. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936. Pp. ix+305. $3.50.

This volume differs from the various standard works on the West in general, and it also represents a study which is much more than a state history. The social, economic, political, and sectional developments in the area north of the Ohio River, and east of the Missouri River, are studied with reference to the period shortly before, during, and not long after the Civil War. The development of political affairs is traced in detail, but economic and social changes are treated with thoroughness. Various prominent leaders, such as Lincoln, Douglas, and Vallandigham are appraised with reference to their attitudes toward the section treated. A distinction is made frequently between the lower Middle West, the area in the river valleys, and the upper Middle West, or Great Lakes area. The attitude of the lower Middle West toward the Civil War has been given particular attention.

Certain attitudes of the pre-Civil War generation of the older Middle West have received necessary and proper emphasis. Although the author estimates that not more than 350 slaves were actually held in the old Northwest by 1840, despite the Ordinance of 1787, and although slavery as an institution was not welcomed in the Northwest, there was nevertheless practically the same attitude toward the free Negro in the Northwest that there was in the Deep South (p. 45 ff.). Nowhere in the West could the Negro vote, with the possible exception of the Western Reserve in Ohio. Even in the newer states of Michigan and Wisconsin, which conceivably might have been more liberal than the older states in the matter of suffrage, the sentiment was definitely against such a thing as Negro suffrage. In the lower Middle West, there was no inclination to give to the free Negro the civil rights that white people received. In general, the Negro was barred from jury service, was not permitted to give evidence in court, to receive poor relief, nor to attend the public schools. Ohio had a "Black Code" until 1849, comparable in severity with legislation relative to Negroes so placed on the statute books in the South.

The material on Stephen A. Douglas, (p. 117 ff.) is particularly good. Having traced, in a preceding section of the book, the disastrous effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act upon the Democratic party in the Middle West, Professor Hubbart makes a careful analysis of Douglas. The appraisal, in general, is quite favorable to the latter. The author shows that Lincoln and Douglas were not far apart in the debates of 1858. The fact that Lincoln had not adopted a particularly humanitarian attitude toward the Negro is made clear by the remark made at

Charleston: "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; (applause) . . . I am not nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people" (p. 127). The absurdity of thinking of Lincoln as the Great Emancipator becomes evident to practically anyone if such a statement, which is not unique in Lincoln's utterances, is kept in mind.

The research on the attitude of the Middle West toward the Crittenden Compromise seems to indicate that the area concerned would have willingly accepted the terms of the Crittenden Compromise had they had an opportunity to vote upon it. That in turn, would have meant that the Civil War would have been averted for the time being. To maintain that the Civil War was inevitable is to adopt a position which is at once fatalistic, pessimistic, and unreasonable. As further evidence of the unwillingness of the Middle West that war should break out, we have the fact that supplies of all kinds went from the Middle West to the seceded states, up until, and, to some extent, even after the attack on Fort Sumter. The latter half of the volume brings out from unquestionable documentary sources, the apathy of much of the Middle West toward the Civil War; the dissatisfaction voiced with regard to Lincoln and his objectives; the election of 1862 and the gains made by the Democrats; the draft riots; and the attitude of the press.

The unanimity of opinion which some are inclined to think existed in the older Middle West while the war was going on simply had no basis in fact. An analysis is made of the election of 1864, with its impressive Republican victories, and the effect of the election upon that area, making it more a part of the East than had been the case up to that time, is discussed. The final chapter presents much material not generally known relative to the social life in the older Middle West.

An annotated bibliography and a well prepared index increase the utility of a volume which is simply not one more book about the West. It is an historical contribution which forces a readjustment of opinion on the part of most open-minded readers. That is a definite endorsement of the merits of any book.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University

Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain. By Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J. Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1938. Pp. xii+292. $3.

One must admit, in general, that there is a certain delicacy about the task of reviewing a book written by the editor of the periodical in which the review is to appear. But in the particular case of Father

Jacobsen's study of the beginnings of Jesuit educational work in Mexico, the miserable reviewer finds the difficulty pretty well solved by two considerations: the excellence of the book to be reviewed, and Father Jacobsen's patient good-nature.

This volume, as Dr. Bolton points out in an editorial preface, is the first of a series to be published on the work of the Jesuits in Spanish North America, between the years 1572 and 1767. With characteristic modesty, Dr. Bolton passes over his own large contributions to that history of the Jesuits, and fixes the attention of the reader on the present and future work of his students in this interesting field.

The book is carefully limited in scope. It is concerned with the educational, not the missionary, work of the Jesuits in New Spain; and it confines its main discussion to the years between 1572 and 1600, with only a bare outline of the long period following. It develops in some detail the origins and early functioning of the Jesuit colleges in Mexico City, Puebla, Oaxaca, Pátzcuaro, Valladolid (now Morelia), Guadalajara, and Tepotzotlán. Father Jacobsen has worked from sources, of which he gives a brief account in his nine pages of bibliography. He makes excellent use of sketch maps and plans of buildings.

The sources he has used are difficult sources to work. They are chiefly the official "Annual Letters" and other official letters concerning the Jesuit colleges in Mexico, some of which have been published by the Jesuit historians, Pérez de Ribas, Florencia, Alegre, Astrain, and Cuevas. These letters, to begin with, were written with a good deal of conscious and unconscious reserve. The human problems involved in the work of the Jesuits peep out, for the most part, only between the lines. The published form of these letters, again, is not always satisfactory: there are gaps and omissions, and occasional distortions; some datings are contradictory of each other.

As for the unpublished sources, Father Jacobsen had to go far afield to study them. They had suffered many vicissitudes in the three hundred and sixty-six years since the Jesuits first went into Mexico; they have been in part destroyed, in part widely scattered, due to the looting consequent on repeated governmental persecution of the Jesuits; and even now they can be used only in niggardly fashion because of the ridiculous hostility of the Mexican government toward the Jesuits.

In spite of these handicaps in his materials, the author, keeping to the solid ground of facts, has gathered enough data to furnish a convincing account of the early Jesuit schools in Mexico. It is also an inspiring account, not the less so for the modesty and sense of humor with which he presents it. It shows a group of men, beginning with 15 and increasing within twenty-eight years to a total of 272, earnestly and intelligently devoting themselves to an unselfish work of education in New Spain. There were a few cranks and megalomaniacs amongst them, as there always are in any considerable number of men; but the overwhelming majority were, as history proves the Jesuits everywhere to have been, men of intelligence and virtue above the ordinary, trained in the patience and humility needed for team-work, modestly and sensibly adapting themselves to opportunities as they came, and keeping as clear before them as poor human nature in the lump can the supernatural purpose which gave the final meaning and objective to their work in education.

The material structure of their work was impressive, in buildings, in school organization, in the number of their students. They held tenaciously to the principle of endowing their colleges, in order to avoid charging tuition. But the endowments were meagre, not merely by modern standards, but even for Jesuit schools. In fact, they were generally in poverty, with debts overbalancing their income. Any momentary financial ease through some generous gift found them eager, not to enjoy the comfort it might bring, but to make use of it to expand their unremunerated service to more people.

It is not easy to evaluate the intellectual achievements of those Jesuit schools. Nor does Father Jacobsen attempt anything more than a general description of the content and methed of the education they offered. But the whole impression made by the Jesuits' work as he sketches it is of something not merely civilizing, but essentially noble. To make such a portrayal convincing, Father Jacobsen wisely devotes the first thirty-five pages of his book to a summary account of the Institute and training of the Jesuits. That is an integral part of even this limited study of their work in the colleges of Mexico. It is their religious temper of dedication that explains what is really excellent in the Jesuits, as in all other religious orders. Without it, they could never have accomplished what they did accomplish; and without some understanding of that temper, the reader might well look upon the simple record of their work partisan writing.

The book is written in a pleasant, easy style. It is excellently printed, with but one defect: the annoying affectation of separating the notes from the text. It is a fine beginning of a series, to which one wishes well in wishing that the subsequent volumes may keep to the high standard set by this first volume.

W. KANE, S. J.

Loyola University

The Republics of South America. A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. New York, Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. x+374. $8.50.

The purpose of this work was to give in a single volume the elements of the present situation in the ten South American republics in the light of their past development. The book marks the awakening of a group of students in England to the significance of the southern Continent in world affairs. It was intended as a survey introduction to general readers in Great Britain, who, up to the time of its publication, were deemed bereft of a handy single volume containing the essential facts of history, geography, culture, economics, society, religion, and foreign relations of the countries down south. The result is that the public of Great Britain now has a clearly written, brief, general survey, and the Study Group has fulfilled its purpose. It is not inferred, nor may the reader assume that the people of England are unable to read English as it is written in the United States, where a number of single volume surveys covering the same ground have been written and are in common use as textbooks for college students. The study of Latin American peoples and affairs, which has made such progress here, has spread to England, and it will not be surprising to see soon in England organized societies founded with purposes similar to our Pan-American Union and Hispanic-American Society.

The volume is based to a great extent upon the findings of American scholars and frequently cites in footnotes the histories of W. S. Robertson, J. Fred Rippy, A. Curtis Wilgus, and others. Considerable space is devoted to the part played by the physical background in the human and economic evolution of the Continent. This is followed by a chapter on communications and what influence such have had upon social, civic, military, and economic affairs. The population is given consideration in some detail, and two opinions regarding the racial problem are recorded. Some think the whites will predominate, others the Indian masses. The latter nativists point to Mexico as an illustration of "a nation under Indian leadership finding solutions for social and political problems which are both more essentially American and more suited to the real needs of the people than those dictated by crillo politicians." This is stated (p. 73), of course, without approval or disapproval by the authors, but, in view of the communistic trend in Mexico and the recent severance of diplomatic relations by Mexico and Great Britain, the authors are probably blinking now at the statement. Moreover, any one or any group attempting to generalize on politicians of either type, Indian or Creole, is merely chasing feathers in a wind.

There is a good but short discussion of the origin of man in America, followed by some ideas on the conquest and the conquering Spaniard. After remarking the individualism and lack of social instinct in Spain, it is inconsistent to describe a united Spanish realm; and it is incorrect. There appears no clear reason why the part played by the English in the slave trade and in piracy should not have been included in the information for English readers. The colonization was evidently too great a subject for any detailed treatment. More to the purpose of the book was the aftermath of the wars of emancipation from

Spain, but the independence era and the nineteenth century history of the ten republics are described in a single chapter narrowing down to a few pages on each of the three more progressive countries, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. The main features, nevertheless, are brought out and revolve around the struggle between liberals and conservatives. Definitions of these terms are sufficiently vague, probably because the authors realize well how one might err in this regard, yet the implication is that the liberals were democrats and the conservatives were autocrats. Thus the fiction of democracy in Hispanic America is perpetuated, just as is the fiction of constitutional government during the ages of turbulence.

The last two hundred pages of the book give a good description of the countries and their dominating trends and personalities since about 1900. In the chapter on Religion and the Church the nineteenth century is considered and is based on the work of J. Lloyd Mecham and Mary Watters. The general conclusion is that a restoration of the "inward character of religion" is needed at present, without which the Church can make no "real contribution to thought and social action." This chapter might well be pondered by religious leaders, except for a few instances (p. 257-261) where some theorizing and "ism" discussion mar the story.

In summary it may be said that the book, informative and useful though it is, will not be in great demand in the United States, because of its price and because of the number of suitable books already available.

J. V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University

Magoon in Cuba. By David A. Lockmiller. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938. Pp. xiv+252. $3.

There is particular timeliness to this study of United States intervention in Cuba. The efforts of the Good Neighbor Policy have done much to convince the nations south of us that we believe in honesty and kindliness in our dealings with them, a conviction that is sorely needed. On the one hand, some publicists have impregnated their minds with the idea of the "Great Colossus of the North," the *imperialistic* and greedy Yankee whose Monroe Doctrine means nothing but a cover for our exploitation and control. On the other hand, not a few journalists in our country have abetted this conviction by methods based on little knowledge and much cynicism toward our government and finance. The future, not to say the present, demands that American peoples assist one another in preserving their political philosophy of democracy as well as their freedom and peace. Concrete show of fairness and friendliness toward the Hispanic nations will go far toward this end. At the same time scholars must tell the truth about our past relations if we would avert the evils of prejudiced propaganda based on bad history.

The careful writing of Lockmiller fits well into this pattern. His subject, Charles E. Magoon, directed the provisional government during the second intervention of Cuba from 1906 to 1909. Such interventions have not been uncommon, as the historian knows. What is not known is the character and results of these intrusions into the lives of our neighbors, particularly as predicted under the régime of Theodore Roosevelt. That distinguished President is best known by the laity from his metaphor, "The Big Stick." In reality the stick was an absolutely necessary medium of settling impossible situations in the Caribbean, and while it had not the immaculate cleanliness of the proverbial hound's tooth it does appear in the clear light of close study remarkably decent as well as productive of excellent results for the subject of the chastisement.

Only a detailed picture like this one of Magoon will definitely clarify our dealings with the "Little Fellows" to the south of us. Well prepared by education and experience for the job, he was dispatched by Roosevelt and his war secretary, Taft, to right the ship of state for revolutionary Cuba. With a kind but persistent care he brought the Cubans back to normal political life, and handed over to them a smoothly functioning government under their honestly elected officials. Meantime he initiated and completed salutary reforms that were needed if ever we should bring them to govern themselves peaceably. Their law code must be redrawn, their civil service organized and purified, their educational system built up, their communication and transportation facilities made such that democracy could live. Finally, in sanitation, care for the underprivileged and criminal classes, municipal government, taxation methods, and further social institutions, he saw that essential changes were called for.

His work on all these projects is portrayed with meticulous accuracy and a minimum of author interpretation. The reader will conclude that the career of Magoon goes far toward righting the current opinion of our dealings with the people of the Caribbean, and for this he will thank the careful writing of Lockmiller. Such a book, of course, falls somewhat short of smoothness in the story; statistical study is scarcely the field for poetry. Yet there is a proper setting for the narrative, and a proper evaluation to conclude the volume. The index is serviceable and the bibliography sufficient. While he does not say it in as many words, the writer gives evidence in his notes of a fine respect for and reliance on the admirable work of Chapman's *History of Cuba.* The present study is a valuable complement to the latter book.

W. Eugene Shiels

Loyola University

A Life of George Washington in Latin Prose. By Francis Glass, A. M., of Ohio. Edited by J. N. Reynolds. Third Edition, New York, 1836.

One purpose of a review of a good book is to bring the book to the attention of readers so that having some idea of the contents they may be induced to read the book reviewed. There may also be another purpose in reviewing a book. If the book be long out of print the discoverer of it may see much in it that is of interest today. Much, perhaps, that will make us appreciate more highly the men and scholarship of an earlier day in the Republic, so that an expression of its value may suggest to an enterprising publisher a probable profit in another printing of the work. Your reviewer, therefore, has some purpose in being a hundred years behind the times.

This Latin life of Washington was written by an American, a genuine scholar of the type of Bentley, Porson, Hermann, and Boech. In addition to the fine scholarship of those modern interpreters of the literature of Rome and Greece, he had the complete command of the classical languages characteristic of the immortal humanists of the Renaissance. Unlike those scholars who met and were encouraged by their equals in the halls of the palaces of the Medici and Popes, or in the universities of England and Germany, Francis Glass studied and dreamed and taught in a log cabin in the forests of Warren County, Ohio, more than a hundred years ago. The school house, said a pupil of the solitary scholar, was a "low log-cabin, with a clapboard roof, but indifferent tight—all the light of heaven found in this cabin, came through the apertures made on each side in the logs, and these were covered with oiled paper to keep out the cold air, while they admitted the dim rays. . . . In the center was a large stove, between which and the back part of the building, stood a small desk, without lock or key, made of rough plank, over which a plane had never passed; and, behind the desk, sat Professor Glass when I entered his school." The student saw the forest, the log cabin, the unplaned desk, but this is what Francis Glass saw: "The temple of the Delphian God," he said, "was originally a laurel hut, and the Muses deign to dwell accordingly in my rustic abode. 'Non humilem domum fastidiunt, umbrosamve ripam.' Here, too, the winds hold converse, 'Eurus, and Taurus, and Argestes loud,' and the goddesses of the Castalian fountain, the daughters of the golden haired Mnemosyne, are sometimes silent with the lyre, 'cithara tacentes,' that they may catch the sweet murmurs of the harp of Aeolus." It was there, he said, far away from Plutus, whom the prince of comic poets styled a "filthy, crooked, miserable, wrinkled, bald, and toothless creature," that he taught the young of either sex, strains before unheard.

All that is known of the life of Francis Glass is contained within the pages of his "Life of Washington" and the few notes of a pupil. His cabin school was about thirty miles from Cincinnati. In 1828, and for several years after, Mrs. Frances Trollope, mother of the more famous novelist, Anthony, was in Cincinnati. She was very active, observant, brilliant, and just a little spiteful in her comments on the city and people of this metropolis of mid-America. Her book on the "Domestic Manners of the Americans" caused as much and as bitter criticism as the later unfavorable description of American manners by Charles Dickens. "Though I do not quite sympathize with those who consider Cincinnati," she says, "as one of the wonders of the earth, I certainly think it a city of extraordinary size and importance, when it is remembered that thirty years ago the aboriginal forest occupied the ground where it stands; and every month appears to extend its limits and its wealth." In the city were several small churches and chapels and many schools. Mrs. Trollope visited one school "kept by Dr. Locke, a gentleman who appears to have liberal and enlarged opinions on the subject of female education." There must have been an advanced classical scholarship, for students who had completed an elementary course in Latin or Greek were advised to become pupils of the recluse in the forest, Professor Glass.

Where Glass was born is not known. He was educated in Philadelphia, and spent the earlier part of his life in that city and vicinity, in literary pursuits. It is probable that he assisted Professor Ross in the compilation of his once well-known *Latin Grammar*. He contracted an unfortunate marriage and in 1817 began his wanderings in the West. He taught in various places and finally settled in Warren County, Ohio, where he became favorably known to the educators of Cincinnati. Later he moved, with his family to Dayton where he probably died shortly after completing his Latin *Life of Washington*.

Little need be said of the *Life* as a biography. Glass had few books of reference and no source material. He said the greater part of the work was written from memory. It is saturated with love of country and love of the great man all Americans revere. It is not written with the flamboyant zeal of Weems, and certainly has nothing in common with the pseudo-historical method of writing biographies characteristic of recent "Lives," but it is an excellent summary of the life of Washington. And there is hovering over the whole book, like a watchful, loving spirit, the genius of a solitary scholar never less alone than when meditating by himself in the forests of Ohio.

The style of the Latin is not brilliant, nor is it dull. It possesses this characteristic of the great Renaissance writers that it appears to be the native language of the writer. He does not think first in English and then translate his thoughts into Latin. In describing the men of the revolution, he uses the ancient language as if it were the language of the heroes of his story, and the events of which they were the greater part are discussed by them in the language of Rome as naturally as they might have discussed them in the language of New England.

In general the style resembles that of Livy with reminiscences of Sallust and Caesar. Occasionally words of doubtful origin are to be found, and expressions now and then that might, perhaps, make Quintillian gasp, but probably Quintillian himself would have approved the expressions when he found they really meant that Latin was a living language in the mind of a writer who was using the old language to describe new concepts. And so we may, not pardon, but accept: "Dux Knox" and "Congressus Americanus," and a few more that any purist, after due consideration, might accept.

Like every true scholar who wishes to see what he has laboriously done become a part of actual life, Glass hoped that his *Life of Washington* might be introduced into schools. The book is well adapted for that purpose. It is clearly written, grammatically sound, interesting, and in most appropriate language the story of a great man and a great life.

ENEAS B. GOODWIN

Loyola University

The Daughters of St. Dominic on Long Island. By Reverend Eugene J. Crawford, M. A. New York, Benziger Brothers, 1938. Pp. xxiii+389. $3.50.

Every bishop is literally an overseer. The Bishop of Brooklyn, Most Reverend Thomas F. Malloy, has looked over Father Crawford's publication not merely in his official capacity but in that also of a literary and historical critic; he writes the Foreword, in which he views the work from a score of aspects and in all of them finds it highly praiseworthy. Should any reader suspect that his Excellency's enthusiasm is the mere outpouring of a personal friendship's tribute, a careful examination of the book may convince him that the praises were well restrained.

The volume presents us with another "Story of Courage," of that unheralded courage which ceaselessly carries on behind all convent walls in America, building up the Church of Christ in beauty and in strength throughout the land. But here we have a new species of heroism, and thus Father Crawford's account necessarily departs widely from the usual recital of the genesis of so many other communities, and carries consequently a rare interest.

The bewilderment of four German Dominican nuns, just arrived in 1853 from Ratisbon, and waiting in vain at the dock in New York for some friend is not the unusual part of the story, however pathetic, for such things occur even now. Possibly not Abbot Wimmer so much as their own lack of foresight was chiefly to blame for this their first, brief trial of courage. The new thing, which Father Crawford tells, with fine candor, is how not only this once, but through long years, these brave women kept their hearts up, enduring what they did not have at their entrance into America, namely, a superabundance of guides. They were bound to obey their rule; they had to heed the counsels of their spiritual directors as well as those of their superiors in America and in distant Ratisbon; they had to obey the ordinances of bishops both in their new home and abroad, even though these seemed to be ever and again at cross purposes. How there was no general fatality to their enterprises, how the Daughters advanced spiritually in spite of the entanglements, and how they established their foundations for the social, religious, educational, and physical betterment of Americans, is the great theme of the book. The number of the original four was augmented after 1853 until today it is more than four thousand. Their hospital and school systems beyond the Atlantic seaboard, into the valleys of the West and on to the Pacific Coast. This chapter of history, illustrative of struggle and progress, was needed.

Laurence J. Kenny

St. Louis University

St. Thomas and the Gentiles. By Mortimer J. Adler. Milwaukee, Marquette University Press, 1938. Pp. ii+111. $1.

This is the Aquinas Lecture for 1938, delivered by Dr. Adler under the auspices of the Aristotelian Society of Marquette University. In book form, the lecture has been supplemented by a body of notes larger than the lecture itself.

Dr. Adler analyzes the problem of getting a hearing for philosophic truth, by comparing the factors in that problem as they existed when St. Thomas wrote the *Summa Contra Gentiles* and as they exist today. The bridge between the Gentiles of the thirteenth century and the twentieth century Gentiles is the whole history of thought during the elapsed seven centuries. To know that strange transition, through the decadence of scholasticism, the naturalism of the renaissance, to modern scientism and positivism, is to hold the key to the modern history of philosophy.

But although the historical analysis is brilliantly done, it is kept subservient to the practical question: how would the mind of St. Thomas face the task of teaching our twentieth century Gentiles, who differ from his Moors, Jews, and heretics, in that they deny that "there is any such thing as true philosophical knowledge . . ."? Our own hope in meeting that problem must be, not in Thomism or any other kind of "ism," but in a return to the balanced methods of St. Thomas.

As Dr. Adler points out, it is because those methods have not been kept in the full poise of living methods that philosophy has lost so much of its power and prestige. Those who have inherited the truths which St. Thomas taught have often served those truths badly by trying to systematize them excessively. Those who abandoned philosophical truths, and latterly even despaired of the existence of such truths, lacked the intellectual modesty in the presence of inevitable antinomies which was part of St. Thomas' sainthood. All this has been said before, but seldom has it been said so pointedly and so well.

Indeed, this shrewd little treatise of Dr. Adler's is the finest sort of glorification of St. Thomas, as contrasted with any gloating Thomism; because it is a very successful attempt to exemplify in itself the spirit of St. Thomas, by its own direct and humble approach to the unsolved problem of disseminating truth, by the honesty and clarity with which it enters into the views of adversaries, by that recognition of our human limitations which, combined with courage and hope, makes up the true humor of the philosopher. Dr. Adler believes that the walls of positivist prejudice and misconception can be breached; and he believes that in spite of a very considerable experience of how high and how thick those walls are. His courage springs from a great charity, as well as from a great modesty.

These qualities, added to his high intelligence, ennoble Dr. Adler's work, and make his book a moving, an eloquent, book: not with the eloquence of rhetoric, although it is beautifully written; but with something of that serene splendor, the fire of starlight, that glows in the *Summa* itself. In an optimistic mood, the present reviewer might persuade himself that a revolution in the teaching and writing of philosophy would date from the publication of *St. Thomas and the Gentiles*. He is too much afraid of the cheerful smugness of many Catholic philosophers to venture upon any such rash prophecy. But he does contend that Dr. Adler pretty thoroughly proves that such a revolution should be on its way, right now.

W. KANE, S. J.

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Father Pfefferkorn and His Description of Sonora*

From the pen of an eighteenth century German Jesuit has come what is probably the best geographical, historical, and ethnographical description of Sonora, Mexico, written in any language. The author of this remarkable work is Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn, missionary to the land which he has so painstakingly described. He came to Sonora as a young man and spent eleven very active years among the Pima, Opata, and Eudebe Indians before the expulsion of the Society forced his departure from the field of his labors. Subsequent to the expulsion Pfefferkorn and a number of his companions were held captive in Spain under suspicion of treason. Eight years of enforced sojourn in Spain were finally terminated for Pfefferkorn by the friendly help of a German elector who interceded with the Spanish crown on the ex-missionary's behalf.

During his eleven years in Sonora, Pfefferkorn had been able, despite the demands of his missionary labors, to do extensive "field work" in large areas of Pima land. Also he had compared notes with his brother Black Robes, and had plied his Indians and the Spanish and mestizo *vaqueros* with questions about plants, minerals, and animals of Sonora. The many notes collected during these years of missionary work in Sonora were not all left to him, for unfortunately the confiscation of Jesuit papers during the expulsion took its toll. But during his eight years' captivity in Spain and afterward for a number of years in Germany, Pfefferkorn worked with the notes which he had been able to salvage and with a large number of secondary sources. Finally, struggling against sickness and growing age he produced in 1794-95 two volumes of a proposed three volume work.

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* Ignaz Pfefferkorn, S. J., *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu-Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis in Deutschland* (Köln am Rheine, 1794-95). 2 vols. The present article is in substance the translator's introduction to a recently completed translation of this fascinating work.

The following pages tell something about Pfefferkorn, about his missionary labors, about how he came to write his *Description of the Province of Sonora,* and finally something of the nature of the work itself.

Father Ignaz Pfefferkorn, S. J., was born in Mannheim near Bergheim, in the Archbishopric of Cologne, on July 31, 1725.[1] It is known from an incident which occurred later in his life that Pfefferkorn had a sister, and that he was her "only living brother." [2] Otherwise there is no information at hand about his family, about his youth ,or about the circumstances of his admission to the Society of Jesus on October 21, 1742, when he was seventeen years of age.[3]

From the date of his admission to the Society until he became a missionary and departed for New Spain Pfefferkorn's life must have been like that of many another Jesuit of his day—a way of life which unquestionably imparted to him and to his brothers of the Society the mental, moral, and physical discipline, the knowledge, and the spiritual strength which they needed to cope successfully with the rigors of an apostolic life in the wilderness. Perhaps Pfefferkorn, like other Jesuits, wrote letters to his superiors requesting that he be sent to the missions, and like them he may have rejoiced one day at the arrival of a reply from the Father General giving him permission to go to the Indies.[4]

However this may be, on a particular day in 1754 Pfefferkorn, now a priest, was in Siegburg meeting a Father Middendorf who had arrived there from Cologne. Together the two priests journeyed to Würzburg where they joined company with two other members of the Society, Fathers Gerstner and Och.[5] Pfefferkorn, at that time not quite twenty-nine years of age, was the youngest member of the group. Joseph Och was almost thirty; Bernhard Middendorf and Michael Gerstner were both thirty-one.[6]

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[1] Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles, 1900), IX, 768; Bernhard Duhr, S. J., *Deutsche Auslandsehnsucht im achzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1928), 55; Robert Streit, O. F. M., *Bibliotheca missionum* (Aachen, 1927), III, 341; Anton Huonder, S. J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderte* (Freiburg i. Breisgau, 1899), 114. Streit and Huonder give Mannheim as Pfefferkorn's birthplace.

[2] Duhr, 54-55; J. B. Mundwiler, S. J., "Deutsche Jesuiten in spanischen Gefängnissen im 18. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie,* XXVI, Part 4 (Innsbruck, 1902), 668. See below, footnote 35, for remarks about Mundwiler's monograph.

[3] Cf. Sommervogel, Streit, Huonder, *loc. cit.;* Duhr, 55.

[4] Cf. Duhr. The first half of this work is devoted to the desires of German Jesuits to leave Europe for work in the overseas missions. See also Theodore Edward Treutlein, *Jesuit Travel to America, 1678-1756, as Recorded in the Travel Diaries of German Jesuits* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of California, 1934), Chap. II, 17-26, "The Desire to Become a Missionary."

This quartette of young Jesuits was undoubtedly a joyous band for they were going far to the west, across the "world ocean," [7] to New Spain to preach Christianity to the American natives. Och begins his diary with the words: "One of the most pleasant days of my life was that of May 9, 1754, when after many entreaties I finally received permission from our Father General, Ignatius Visconti, to journey to the Indian missions."[8]

The missionary adventure, recorded by Och and Middendorf in fine diaries,[9] began on July 9, 1754,[10] when the four Jesuits left Würzburg for Augsburg on their way to Italy. Middendorf, custodian of their travel money, paid the vetturino seventy-six ducats for the coach ride to Genoa, where they arrived on August 3. At Genoa they were soon joined by eight more Jesuits, all Germans, who had come from Prague and Vienna. Germans were very unpopular in Genoa in 1754, so the Jesuits let it be known that they were Poles.[11]

Three months after their arrival in Genoa the travelers boarded an English ship which brought them on December 24 to Puerto de Santa María in Spain. There they lived in the great Jesuit mission-hospice[12] until a day before their departure for New Spain a year later, for although they had received their designation for Mexico from the Father General on Easter Day, 1755, various circumstances prevented their departure for the New World until two days before Christmas of the same year. Their number had now been increased to forty-two. Of this group at least two others besides Pfefferkorn, Och, and Middendorf were to leave conspicuous names in Jesuit missionary history.[13] One among them, the youthful Wenceslaus Linck, a nineteen year old member from the Bohemian Province, became famous as an explorer in Lower California and in the Río Colorado region.[14] The other, Matthias Steffl, aged twenty-one, from the same province, worked among the Tarahumaras and later wrote a lexicon of the Tarahumara language, as well as a description of the habits and customs of these Indians.[15]

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[5] This information is derived from the diaries of Fathers Och, p. 3, and Middendorf, p. 743. See footnote 9, below.

[6] Ages for Pfefferkorn, Och, and Middendorf are calculated from dates given in Huonder. The date of Gerstner's birth is to be found in the catalog dated February 26, 1760, *in* MS VX-4-157 *(1541-1767. Catalógo de los nombres, patrias, edades, entradas y professiones de los sugetos de la Compañia de Jesús de Nueva España.)* Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico. Gerstner and Och were natives of Würzburg; Middendorf's birthplace was Vechta, in Oldenburg. Huonder, *op. cit.* Cf. Streit, 178, where Middendorf's place of birth is given as Riesenbeck, Westphalia.

[7] Expression used by Och in his diary, p. 14.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 3.

[9] "Herrn P. Joseph Och, Glaubenspredigers der Gesellschaft Jesu in der Provinz Sonora in Neu-Navarra, im Gouvernement Neu-Mexico. Nachrichten, von seinen Reisen nach dem spanischen Nord-Amerika dessen dortigen Aufenthalte, vom Jahr 1757 bis 1767, und Rückkehr nach Europa," *in* Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, ed., *Nachrichten von verschiedenen Ländern des spanischen Amerika* (Halle, 1809), 1-292, hereinafter cited Och, Nachrichten; "Aus dem Tagebuche des mexikanischen Missionarius Gottfr. Bernh. Middendorff aus der Gesellschaft Jesu, geb. zu Vechte im stifte Münster. A. 1754-1776 n. Ch.," Parts I, II, and III, *Katholischen Magazin für Wissenschaft und Leben* (Münster, 1845), hereinafter cited Middendorf, *Tagebuch.*

[10] Och, *Nachrichten,* 3, and Duhr, 56-7.

[11] Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part I, 743.

The voyage to America lasted nearly four months, the date of arrival at Vera Cruz being March 19, 1756. Nine days after disembarking at Vera Cruz the travelers left for Mexico City where most of the party arrived in the middle of April after a leisurely journey.[16] But Fathers Pfefferkorn, Gerstner, and Och were not with this party arriving at Mexico City, for they had been ordered to remain in Puebla de los Angeles. Since the Bishop of Cuba had asked that German Jesuits be sent to his island, these three remained in Puebla for three months awaiting decision as to whether they should return to Vera Cruz and sail for Puerto Principe on the Island of Cuba or continue on to Mexico. The latter course was, however, decreed. Word had reached Mexico City from the Governor of Sonora, Don Juan de Mendoza, that the Indians desired the establishment of five new missions, and the three Germans, along with two other missionaries who had gone on ahead, were designated to undertake the task of establishing new missions in Sonora.[17]

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[12] Treutlein, *op. cit.,* Chap. IV, 47-51, "The Arrival in Spain."

[13] The names of only a few of the forty-two missionaries included in this party are at hand.

[14] Huonder, 112.

[15] *Ibid.,* 115. See also below, note 22. His name is also spelled Steffel.

[16] Och, *op. cit.,* p. 5ff.; Theodore E. Treutlein, "Jesuit Travel to New Spain, 1678-1756,' *Mid-America,* XIX (April, 1937), 104-123.

[17] Och, Nachrichten, 49-51. Father Middendorf was one of the two who had already set out for Sonora, May 11, 1756. Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part II, 778.

On July 14, 1756, a company of six men, each riding a mule and each with a pack mule in tow, might have been seen leaving Mexico City. Three of the riders were Jesuits. Each of the missionaries wore a large, broad-brimmed felt slouch hat and under it for further protection a linen cloth, like a veil. They were dressed in black leathern jackets, sleeveless but for "wings" at the shoulders. The three other riders were muleteers who went with the fathers as guides and servants. Baggage included mattresses, utensils for cooking, various foodstuffs and even fire wood, which was carried on the back of a small burro. Though their itinerary included villages where stops were made, they generally slept under a large tent in the open field. "We constituted a complete gypsy caravan," says Och.

They advanced north through Querétero, San Luis de la Paz, and San Luis Potosí, to Zacatecas, where they halted to visit a Jesuit College. From there they rode to Durango,[18] where rains delayed them for eight days until they were able to continue their journey along the eastern slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental to Parral. Och speaks of Parral[19] with especial interest because he noticed that here, as had not been the case so far, Spaniards were permitted to make wine. This was because Parral wine could not compete in sale with Spanish wines at Mexico City, a result of the difficulties of transportation between Parral and the Mexican capital. At this point the twelve animals had to be re-shod, for the roads had been extremely rough.[20]

Near Parral the Indians displayed their affection for the Jesuits by hiding the Fathers' mules, in an attempt, writes Och, to force the missionaries to remain with them. Jesuit priests had formerly carried on missionary work in this region but recently had been replaced by secular clergy, whom the Indians apparently did not like as well as the Black Robes. But the Jesuits had to continue their journey, and when the well-meaning natives saw the determined priests push off on foot, the mules, saddled and ready for the march, were speedily produced.[21]

The travelers were headed for the western slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental and had reached the southern borders of Tarahumara. Here was the home of the Indians whose fleetfootedness gave the country its name and whose feet were so hardened by going barefoot in the rough hills and mountains that they bore "transparent" callouses a "finger thick, like hooves.[22]

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[18] Och says that they reached Durango before going to Zacatecas, an error.

[19] Literally *vineyard.*

[20] Och, Nachrichten, 65-74, describes the journey from Mexico City to Sonora.

[21] *Ibid.,* 71.

Father Och mentions a rest at San Borgia, a Jesuit mission, after which several days of rough traveling over the Sierra Madre brought them to Mátape, in southern Sonora where there was a Jesuit college. From Mátape a letter was dispatched to the Father Visitor, sixty hours' journey distant, to inform him of their arrival in Sonora and to inquire as to their future stations. Then they continued to Ures where a Swiss Jesuit, Father Philip Segesser, instigated a rather harrowing joke to celebrate their arrival. Near Segesser's mission they were suddenly surrounded by a yelling, whooping band of Indians, some mounted, some on foot, all brandishing bows and arrows. The mules broke for cover; the fathers were unsaddled. "We saw at once that they were not enemies," writes Och, "but we were frightened nevertheless. . . ." Order was soon restored and the Jesuits went the rest of the way to Ures, escorted by shouting natives.

At Ures they remained for three weeks awaiting the letter of instruction from the Father Visitor, and when it arrived they learned that they were to travel still farther north, to the mission of the Rector, Father Kaspar Stiger, a Swiss, who would give them further orders. A three days' journey through Opodepe, Cucurpe, and Nacámeri brought them to mission San Ignacio where they were made welcome by the sixty-one year old priest.

At San Ignacio the three travelers who had come so many miles together, separated. Och remained with the "old and feeble" Father Stiger at San Ignacio.[23] Gerstner rode west and north to Sáric.[24] Here we leave Fathers Och and Gerstner and follow

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[22] *Ibid.,* 72. See P. Matthäus Steffel, "Tarahumarisches Wörterbuch, nebst einigen Nachrichten von den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Tarahumaren, in Neu-Biscaya, in der Audiencia Guadalajara im Vice-Konigreiche Alt-Mexico, oder Neu-Spanien," in Murr, 293-374. Steffel explains, p. 342, that the name *Talahúmali* (Tarahumara), derived from the words *talá* (foot) and *humá* (to run), means *runner* (Fusslaufer).

[23] Och, Nachrichten, 74, says that he remained at San Ignacio until 1766, and then journeyed to Mexico City where he was confined to his bed with arthritis. Pfefferkorn, II, 333, states that Och went to Santa María de Bazeraca, though he gives no dates.

[24] Huonder states that Gerstner spent most of his time at Sáric; Pfefferkorn, *loc. cit.,* states merely that Gerstner took over the mission of Sáric. From what is known about the field of Middendorf's missionary labors it is probable that Gerstner did not go at once to Sáric, for Middendorf was probably at that mission when Gerstner arrived in Sonora. Mid-

Father Pfefferkorn to his missionary labors in Sonora until a common fate again overtakes the three, along with all other Jesuits, at the time of the decree of their expulsion from Spain and Spain's colonies in 1767.

We learn from Father Pfefferkorn's own words what his work was during his eleven years in Sonora.[25]

> I was to attempt the rebuilding of mission Sonoitac but when I arrived in Sonora it was already too late for this. The Papagos as newcomers were but meagerly grounded in Christianity and had little inclination for its tenets. Their life, unbridled from youth, was much more to their liking than that taught by Gospel, and since they had already been five years without a spiritual guide and without instruction they had again taken up their former animal-like existence.[26] They had torn down the church and the priest's dwelling, and had conceived such an aversion for Christianity that on no account did they wish ever again to tolerate a missionary among them. Since the situation was such a difficult one everybody considered it expedient to await another time when it should please Providence to reveal ways and means through which the conversion of these peoples could be undertaken anew, with greater success.
>
> Next I was charged with establishing the new mission at Ati[27] in the region of the Pimas who had revolted five years previously but were now peaceful once more. At the same time I was to administer spiritual aid to the Spanish garrison of Altar and to Spanish families living in that region. In the year 1756 I went to the place of my mission where I found still standing the church and the little house which were built by Father Kino for his future missionaries, and which had been left undamaged in the last revolt of the Pimas.
>
> Since the missionary of Sonoitac was murdered during this revolt the king of Spain had ordered that in the future no priest should go to a new mission without the protection of soldiers.[28] So, in compliance

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dendorf had arrived in Sonora earlier than his three companions and had gone first to Tucson as field chaplain with a troop of Spanish soldiers. Then Indian disturbances forced him to flee south to San Xavier del Bac. From there he was sent to Sáric where he remained for fourteen months until a fever so reduced him that to aid his recovery he was sent south to Batuco, which is more than one hundred hours south of Sáric. In 1766, or thereabouts, Middendorf went still farther south to Movas, where he remained until the expulsion. See Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part II, 797-98.

[25] Pfefferkorn, 333-340.

[26] They had been "five years without a spiritual guide" because of the Pima uprising which began in the Altar valley in November, 1751. For an authoritative account of the Pima trouble see Charles Russell Ewing, *The Pima uprising, 1751-1752: a study in Spain's Indian policy* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of California, 1934).

[27] Pima Indian word meaning *brook.*

[28] The former missionary of Sonoitac was Father Heinrich Ruhen, a German Jesuit from the Lower Rhine Province, who was murdered in 1751 after having been at Sonoitac for less than a year. Pfefferkorn, 329-332.

with this order, I arrived at Ati with four soldiers and a non-commissioned officer and found, to my astonishment, that the village was completely deserted, for all the Indians at first sight of us had taken to their heels. Their reason for doing this was fear of, or what is more likely, aversion to the Spaniards, whose presence they positively do not wish to tolerate.

For many days no soul came to me; only in the dark of night some Indians prowled into my house, to the very door of my room. One after the other lurked there, just like timid children who wish to see someone but who do not wish to be seen. They kept their bodies out of sight back of the door and stuck just their heads out, as far as their noses, scrutinizing me from head to foot. However, if I as much as directed a glance at the door they hurriedly took flight. This farce continued every evening for four weeks.

Meanwhile, I frequently sent out my interpreter, a trustworthy Indian who was a pious Christian, to invite the fugitives to me with promises that I would treat them with paternal kindliness and overwhelm them with gifts. My messenger returned each time without having accomplished anything. Finally they told him plainly that they would not come to me until I had sent away the *schondari ootam* (the soldiers, their enemies). To all appearances this was dangerous, but I considered that without complying I could not hope to be of service to these people, and also that in case of violence a mere handful of soldiers would not be able to defend me anyway. So I dismissed my escort and remained alone.

As I sat at my mid-day meal thirty or forty robust and very stern-looking Indians approached and formed a circle about me. I believed that the last moment of my life was at hand but took heart and ordered the interpreter to ask them what they wanted. Immediately an old Indian stepped out of the circle, bowed politely, and said: "See, Father! Now we come to you because you have driven away our enemies; now we wish to remain with you, to protect you, and to do everything that you wish." Greatly encouraged I shook hands with each of them, gave them gifts, and dismissed them well satisfied. On the very same day the others also returned quite calmly and peacefully, and then I became hopeful for the happy progress of my mission.

Among the Pimas, who constituted the largest group in my mission, lived some Papagos who had previously been baptized and who had taken no part in the wicked designs of their countrymen. For this reason they preferred to remain among the Christian Pimas rather than among their own people. This made me happy and I hoped gradually to increase my flock through the example and co-operation of these good Indians. I was not disappointed in my hope. For throughout my residence here considerable numbers of Papagos came to the mission at frequent intervals seeking food from the Pimas, when they were short of it in their dry and sandy country. The kindly reception and benevolent treatment accorded these poor people, the gifts which I gave to them, and the persuasion of their own countrymen who praised their happy life in the mission, had such an effect that each time some of them remained and submitted to Christianity. In this way the number of believers grew slowly. The circumstances did not permit more rapid progress at the time.

I had spent nearly seven years in this mission among the Pimas when a fever of long duration and my daily failing strength made it necessary for me to abandon Ati and to seek recovery of my health in another region where there was purer air and more healthful water. Such conditions obtained on the other side of the mountain where lived the Eudebes, in whose country there was now vacant the mission of Cucurpe.[29] This mission I took over upon the order of my superiors and I administered it with great contentment for four years, until 1767, at which time we were separated most painfully from our dear little sheep, by a fate which is well known."

The "fate" to which Father Pfefferkorn refers was, of course, the general expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and from Spain's several overseas dominions. The Jesuits in the Sonora-Sinaloa mission frontier received a circular letter from Father Johann Nentwig, the Father Visitor who was acting provincial for the missions, calling them to Mátape on the pretext that they were needed to pass judgment on an important matter. Thus were assembled with ease and expediency Pfefferkorn and his brother Jesuits.[30] This group numbered fifty-one in all; thirty-one from the Sonora missions and twenty from those of Sinaloa.[31] Crowded into the church at Mátape, with armed guards standing at doors and windows, they heard pronounced the royal decree which banished them forever from the dominions of Spain and from Spain itself.[32]

On August 25, under military guard, the Sonora-Sinaloa missionaries, Fathers Pfefferkorn, Middendorf, and Gerstner among them, set out for Guaymas, on the coast. There they remained, miserably housed, until May 20, 1768 when began their long, arduous journey which took them by sea to San Blas and overland to Vera Cruz, which they reached on February 14, 1769, nine months after leaving Guaymas. The last part of their journey began on April 8, 1769[33] when they sailed from Vera Cruz for Havana, Cuba. Their voyage to Cádiz, including a long stopover in Havana, consumed more than three months, for they did not reach Cádiz until July 12, 1769.[34]

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[29] *Cucurpe* is an Eudebe[?] Indian word meaning "wood-dove," and is of undoubted onomatopoeic origin.

[30] Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part III, 25. For an excellent account of the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain see Peter M. Dunne, S. J., "The expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, 1767," *Mid-America,* XIX (Janary, 1937), 3-30.

[31] The figures given are Middendorf's, *ibid.,* 27; Jacob Baegert, S. J., *Nachrichten von der Amerikanische Halbinsel Californien: mit eiem zweyfachen Anhang falscher Nachrichten* (Mannheim, 1772), 301, says there were fifty Sonora-Sinaloa Jesuits. Baegert's volume 298-312, "Von Ankunft des Don Gaspar Pórtala[sic], und von dem Abzug der Jesuiten aus Californien."

[32] Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part III, 25-26.

Father Pfefferkorn and the others from Sonora and Sinaloa were thus late arrivals, for most of the Jesuits had come in 1767 and 1768.[35] A few more had yet to reach Spain the following year. The earlier arrivals were housed in the large building which had been the former Jesuit mission hospice and in two other such establishments, but when these were filled the missionaries were taken to Franciscan, Dominican, Capuchin, Augustinian, and other cloisters, and were even lodged wtih private citizens.[36]

The early arrivals in Spain were not forced to tarry long before continuing their journey to Italy. Father Och, who reached Spain in 1768, remained in Puerto de Santa María for three months. He states that this delay, which seems slight in comparison to those suffered by members of Pfefferkorn's band, was occasioned by the fact that the king had no ships available for transport purposes, and that the merchants of Santa María and Cádiz were not anxious for the Jesuits to depart. Each Jesuit received daily from the royal treasury eight *reales de vellon* and those who were ill, ten. Och estimated that one thousand *guilders* were spent daily by the ex-missionaries in 1768 and informs us that within a month after their arrival not a single piece of black cloth was to be had in either Santa María or Cádiz; all had been purchased by the Jesuits who needed to re-clothe themselves.[37]

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[33] Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part III, 46. The French vessel was the *Aventurier* aboard which had arrived one French and two Spanish royal mathematicians who were en route to Lower California to witness a solar eclipse. (For an account of this expedition see "Notes and Comment," in the present MID-AMERICA. Ed.)

[34] See *ibid.,* 27-48, for the description of the journey from Mátape to Spain.

[35] Mundwiler, *op. cit.,* 638, states that most of the expelled Jesuits reached Spain in 1768. Mundwiler's account of "German Jesuits in Spanish prisons in the 18th Century" as the title states, concerns itself primarily with the fortunes of German Jesuits during and after the expulsion, but as Mundwiler himself says, 623, "it is hardly possible to separate the fate of German Jesuits from that of Spanish Jesuits." Hence, this monograph of fifty-two pages which treats briefly all phases of the expulsion, from the promulgation of the royal edict to the final evacuation of the Jesuits from Spain's colonies and from Spain, is of wider interest than its title would indicate. The monograph is for the most part based upon the accounts of Jesuits who were unhappy participants in the expulsion and upon official documents from Simancas, Spain, in the collection of the Jesuit historian, Bernard Duhr.

[36] *Ibid.,* 639; and Och, *Nachrichten,* 158-159.

For the most part the ex-missionaries were not badly treated while in Spain. They mention cramped quarters and purposeless quizzing to which they were subjected from time to time, but they speak also of entertainments in the form of concerts to which they could listen or in which they participated[38] and of carrying on their religious life in a quite normal manner.[39]

There is a note of bitterness in Middendorf's diary, however, when he describes the treatment accorded to the Sonora and Sinaloa ex-missionaries. They were brought from Cádiz to Santa María in small boats and there, heavily guarded, were marched to the former mission hospice, where they were lodged on the top floor in rooms with boarded-up windows. "We had hardly light enough to say our breviary. Guards stood in the halls and in the street below. Officers broke our bread and cut up our meat to see whether they contained perhaps a letter or some communication with outsiders. When it was time to have our beards clipped two soldiers with fixed bayonets stood at our sides so that we might not speak with the barber. When doctors were admitted to the sick it was always in the presence of officers so that nothing might be discussed except that which the demands of the sick made necessary. We were not permitted to celebrate Mass in the church, but some high ceilinged rooms were cut through and made into a chapel where Mass was celebrated." "However," writes Middendorf patiently, "after a year we were permitted to open windows to get fresh air." [40]

By 1770 there were few Jesuits left in Spain.[41] Part of those who remained were forced to do so because illness rendered their removal impossible; others were kept prisoners while various charges against them were considered by the Spanish officials who apparently wished to find a justification for the general expulsion of the Society.

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[37] Och, *Nachrichten,* 161-163. Och, 160, mentions also a partly successful attempt which was made to break the morale of the members of the Society in Spain. A decree was read to them promising positions of honor, . . . to all who would renounce the Society; or they were offered complete endowments if they would enter another order. Of twelve hundred Jesuits in Santa María, one hundred and eighteen agreed. These were then informed that the king lacked authority to arrange such matters and that they would have to go to Italy to receive permission from the Pope and from the Jesuit Father General. Och adds that after this the one hundred and eighteen were no longer treated as Jesuits but as outcasts.

[38] Mundwiler, 640-642.

[39] *Ibid.,* 647-678.

[40] Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part III, 48.

[41] Mundwiler, 653.

Those Jesuits who remained captive in Spain for several years as scapegoats included many of the Sonora members of the Society and would also have included eight Germans who had been missionaries in Lower California had not these already sailed out of Cádiz on a Dutch ship the day before the promulgation of a royal order which would have kept them prisoners. Father Benno Ducrue of Munich, who reports this incident, did not know the reason for the order,[42] but apparently the California Jesuits were believed to have traded with the Dutch.[43]

Of the other Jesuits who remained in Spain Father Baegert, who was formerly a missionary in Lower California and who himself had fortunately departed on the Dutch ship with Ducrue, writes that twenty-eight survivors from Sonora and Sinaloa,[44] and five others who had lived on the island of Chiloé were the only ones still in Spain out of a total of more than five thousand Jesuits. The Chiloé priests were in the fourth year of captivity, and the twenty-eight survivors from Sonora and Sinaloa in their third. All were kept closely confined and were carefully guarded. Their retention in Spain was due, according to Baegert, to the Spaniards' hope of learning from these ex-missionaries about "a great state crime" or some other knavery.[45]

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[42] How he learned about the order at all is not revealed in his diary. See "Des Herrn Abbé Franz Benno Ducrue ehemaligen Vorstehers aller californischen Missionen der Gesellschaft Jesu. Reise aus Californien, durch das Gebiet von Mexico nach Europa im Jahre 1767," *in* Murr, 389-430. Ducrue, 428-429, reveals the interesting fact that his group aboard the Dutch ship returned to Germany via Ostend rather than proceeding first to Italy, as most of the ex-missionaries had to do. The idea of returning to central Europe via the Netherlands originated with some of the Jesuits who favored this route "so that we," as they put it, "could stand immediately upon disembarking on the territory of our sovereign reigning prince of the house of Austria." See Mundwiler, 651-652.

[43] Ducrue, 428, and Duhr, 53, brand this a false charge. A document found by Dr. Engel Sluiter during his extensive researches in Dutch archives, 1935-36, reveals that in 1746 two Dutch ships landed on the west coast of New Spain, one at Matanchel, the other at San Telmo. The ships had been equipped at Batavia by Baron G. G. van Imhoff, Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company, with a view to engaging in the Mexican trade. The governor-general hoped that he might persuade the viceroy of New Spain to "conceal or consent to Dutch commerce," because no Manila galleon had set sail for three or four years, and it was believed by the Dutch governor-general that there was a shortage of European merchandise in New Spain. An Irish Jesuit, Don Lorenzo Ochaam [de Cahan] who had been aboard one of the vessels but had been taken in captivity to Colima, wrote a letter in English to one Don Thomas Power, "one of his friends" at Guadalajara. This letter of January 26, 1747, opened by the President of Guadalajara in the absence of Powers, states, among other things, that in 1745 de Cahan had talked with Spanish missionaries in Macao who had expressed their belief that a trading venture between Batavia and New Spain would without doubt succeed. De Cahan says that he accepted passage on one of the ships for Mexico on condition that "he would not be obliged to do anything contrary to his duty or to the interests of the French nation, in the service of which he had lived for twenty years, or to those of Spain, where he hoped to live some day . . ." See *Algemeen Rijksarchief,* The Hague, Netherlands. Koloniaal Aanwinsten tot 1887, No. 112. See also A. K. A. Gijsberti Hodenpijl, "De mislukte pogingen van G. G. van Imhoff tot het aanknoopen van handels-betrekkingen met Spaansch-Amerika in 1745 en 1746," in *Bijdragen tot de Taalland—en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Koninklijk Instituut voor de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, s'Gravenhage, 1917), 502-557.

Father Baegert was correct in his surmise. Some of the Spanish officials believed that the "five Jesuits from Chiloé" had intended to deliver the island of Chiloé into the hands of the English.[46] The Extraordinary Privy Council on July 30, 1776 made a general explanation for the continued captivity of Jesuits who had worked as missionaries in the outlying provinces of the Americas. These Jesuits had advanced far into such lands and their adjacent islands; hence, their departure from Spain, it was believed, would be inimical to the crown, for they could reveal to crown enemies matters about the interiors of such regions.[47]

Included in this group of "potential betrayers of state secrets" were Fathers Pfefferkorn, Middendorf and Gerstner. Father Och, fourth member of the original "quartet," had through fortuitous circumstances been able to leave Spain for Germany, via Italy, in June 1768,[48] but his companions, most of whom were from the Sonora and Sinaloa provinces, were scattered throughout Spain in various cloisters. When this distribution occurred Father Middendorf was lodged in a cloister near Ciudad Rodrigo. There he lived for a year and three months until his release was effected through the intercession of Empress Maria Theresa in 1776.[49] Middendorf was thus the second of the "quartet" to return to Germany.

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[44] That is, survivors of the original fifty or fifty-one Jesuits from Sonora and Sinaloa.

[45] Baegert, 301, footnote.

[46] Duhr, 53. Father Fritz, one of the five, was not from Chiloé. When Fritz desired to know why he was kept prisoner with four other Jesuits with whom he had never worked, and what the accusation against him might be, he was told by the Marquis of Zeurina that he, the Marquis, also did not know. The Marquis explained that he had received an order to arrest five Jesuits, had found only four, the fifth never having appeared, and so had seized Father Fritz. This incident is related in Mundwiler, 660.

[47] Mundwiler, 654.

[48] Och reached Spain about a year and three months earlier than did the Sonora Jesuits, for he was in Mexico City when the decree of expulsion arrived there. This circumstance, and the fact that he was with the group arriving from Mexico City may explain why he did not share the fate of the other Sonora Jesuits.

[49] Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part III, 52-54.

The circumstances leading to Father Pfefferkorn's release are revealed in a letter which his sister, Isabella, wrote in 1777 (late March or early April) to the Elector of Köln, Max Ferdinand. She states: "I feel impelled to declare that my only living brother, the ex-Jesuit Ignaz Pfefferkorn, born in the Province of Cologne, has been held prisoner with other ex-Jesuits for a long time in a place until now unknown [to me]. But because one of them, Bernard Middendorf from Vechta in the diocese Münster, has already been freed, has returned home, and has had me informed that he saw my brother in the abbotry of St. Norbert and left him there ill,[50] [I beg that Your Electoral Highness intercede with His Majesty, the King of Spain, to secure my brother's release]." [51]

The elector sympathized with the supplicant and dispatched a letter to the king of Spain on April 8, 1777. With his own he included the letter from Isabella. There followed correspondence which involved the king and some of his ministers as well as the Extraordinary Council of State which took until December 3 to announce that it could find no objection to granting the elector's request. Hence, on December 16 the king approved Pfefferkorn's liberation and ordered that he be conducted to the border.[52] Thus permission was obtained for Father Pfefferkorn to return to the land which he had left some twenty-three years earlier.[53]

Pfefferkorn was now fifty-two years old. During his twenty-three years of travel, missionary work, and captivity in Spain he had seen and experienced much which was of the greatest interest to his countrymen, most of whom were eager for information about strange parts of the world. Their interest, it cannot be doubted, had a great deal to do with Pfefferkorn's decision to write and publish a comprehensive work about Sonora and about the expulsion of the Jesuits therefrom. Moreover, he desired to express his gratitude for his release from Spain to the Elector, Max Ferdinand, to whom the volumes are dedicated in terms of greatest affection. Pfefferkorn felt that he had a contribution to make to the store of the world's knowledge. Who had a more intimate knowledge of Sonora and its inhabitants, of its trees and its animals, and of its very earth, than he and his brother missionaries, who had traversed so much of the territory in which they had spent years of their lives instructing the natives in the Christian concept of a better life? Finally, would not such a work as he proposed to write justify, more than any philippic directed at Spain's policy, the work which the members of the Jesuit Society had been carrying on in the missionary fields of the Americas? Here, in other words, was a sample of what the servants of Christ had been doing; why, then, were they so rudely torn away from their apostolic labors? All these reasons for writing the *Description of the Province of Sonora* are either stated or implied in the two volumes.

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[50] On his way out of Spain Middendorf remained for eight days in Ciudad Rodrigo, where Pfefferkorn was confined. Middendorf must have seen Pfefferkorn at this time, though he makes no mention of having done so in his diary. *Ibid.,* 53.

[51] Mundwiler, 668, and Duhr, 54-55. Isabella Pfefferkorn was the wife of Berntges, electoral councilor of the board of domains *(Kammerrat).*

[52] Mundwiler, 669.

[53] Father Michael Gerstner was not permitted to leave Spain until February, 1780 when his release was secured through the intercession of the Bishop of Würzburg. *Ibid.,* 669-670.

Pfefferkorn mentions in his dedication a conversation which he had in Düsseldorf with the Elector when the latter granted permission that the work be dedicated to him. In the dedication Pfefferkorn states further that his purpose in writing the work "is to lift out of obscurity Sonora, which is still quite unknown in Germany but which is yet very remarkable, and to deliver to the public, which is extremely eager for information concerning distant lands and instructive journeys, no fictitious adventures but essential and useful history." [54]

The preface following the dedication reveals many important facts about the *Description* itself. The author gives here the reasons for the long interval which elapsed between his return to Germany and the appearance of the first and second volumes of his work in 1794 and 1795. He makes some remarks as to the sources of information which he has called upon in the preparation of this work other than his own observations and experiences. He summarizes briefly the contents of the three volumes, and comments upon the annotations of his "learned friend," A. C. Pfefferkorn writes:

> Sonora is one of the most important countries in all Spanish America, as well because of its fertile soil as because of its many and rich gold and silver mines. But as splendid as that country is, up to now its condition has been little known in Germany. At least, I have neither read nor heard that a credible description of it has appeared.
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> In the eleven years which I spent in the management of three different missions,[55] and on the journeys which I often had to make

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[54] Pfefferkorn, I, *Dedication.*

[55] Pfefferkorn may have been at mission Sonoitac for a short time, but

through other regions of this country, I had the opportunity of viewing a good part of it myself and of becoming very familiar with it. The many years' association with all the other missionaries, who had lived in Sonora, during the tedious return journey to Europe and during our six years' captivity in the harbor of Santa María at Cádiz, supplied me with dependable accounts of that which I had not seen myself.

After my return to Germany, various persons of distinction and many of my most esteemed friends desired that I endeavor to communicate to the public my collection of the noteworthy facts about Sonora. But my health, impaired by the great hardship of my journey and captivity, as well as other lesser obstacles, often kept me from working, and till now thwarted my wish to gratify the desire of my noble patron. Finally, however, despite all difficulties, I have brought the work to a conclusion, and I hereby now give to the gentle reader the true description of this excellent country.

One must not expect a detailed and complete natural history from me; for such a work would have required the most exact observations, and consequently much more time than was permitted by the official duties of a missionary, who was practically always occupied with the physical and spiritual care of his Indians. Nevertheless, I shall faithfully and honestly submit to my readers that which I saw with my own eyes and myself experienced and that which I learned from my Sonora brethren or other credible witnesses, and I doubt not that many of my accounts will appear remarkable enough to them.

The entire work comprises three volumes. In the first volume I describe first the boundaries and different divisions of the country, with the Indian tribes living therein. Herewith I trace the courses of the rivers which can be seen on the appended map, as well as the villages of the peoples distributed along the banks of these rivers. This map was in part made, in part approved, by the general agreement of all the missionaries in Sonora, and was found to be so good that we used it without erring on our frequent journeys through the country.

Following the description of the region, I proceed to natural history, which I separate into the plant-kingdom, the mineral-kingdom, and the animal-kingdom, after the customary arrangement. Then follows a quite detailed account of the apostate, barbarous Seris and the neighboring wild Apaches, two nations which before and during my residence there caused the most frightful devastations in Sonora with their plundering inroads and hostile invasions, and now, perhaps, have already brought about the complete destruction of this splendid country.

At the end of the first volume I place a list of prices paid in Sonora

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spent most of his eleven years in Sonora at missions Ati and Cucurpe. See above, pp. 235-236, and below, p. 245, and footnote 74.

during my time there for American and European products. Many a reader will find pleasure in this index, and from it will also be aware of numerous new regulations made recently by the Spaniards in their America, as well as the tremendous profit which is realized there on most of the European goods.

In the second volume are described the bodily constitution and disposition of the Sonoran Indians, their manners and customs, beliefs, occupations, and so on. In this connection I confirm, indeed, much that Robertson and others report in their writings about the American savages, but much also I call in question, or have to deny entirely. Should many things which I write concerning the Indians seem incredible, my answer is that I do not deceive my reader with fabulous narratives or those borrowed from strange, often spurious sources, but deliver to him only such accounts as are based upon my own observations, inquiries, and constant experiences through many years, as well as on those of all other missionaries who were with me in Sonora. I close this volume with a detailed description of the behavior of the converted Indians; of the regulation and internal administration of the Sonora missions; finally, of the Spaniards living in Sonora.

The third volume contains the description of my return journey from Sonora, through America, Spain, France, and Brabant, to Germany. In this description some things appear which will be of interest to many readers. It contains, for example, the royal order by which the Jesuits were perpetually banned from all parts of the Spanish monarchy, together with the appended secret instructions of the then prime minister, Conde de Aranda, according to whose orders all Spanish officials were to execute the king's orders—which last part has never before been published in Germany.

There is an account of the arrest of the Sonora missionaries and of their treatment on the journey and during their imprisonment. Here also is recounted the remarkable behavior of the Indians and Spaniards in America toward the missionaries when in the year 1768 they were led through the entire Kingdom of Mexico to Vera Cruz as state prisoners. In the narration of this slow and often interrupted journey I describe some cities and also other important places and regions of which the names have hardly been heard in Germany. My delay in the harbor of Vera Cruz, through which passes the famous and very considerable trade of Spain with Mexico, gives me the opportunity to entertain my readers with various accounts of this trade.

One can also learn in more detail from my work than from any other such German work about the island of Cuba, with the important city, Havana, and its excellent harbor. I do not relate much that is uncommon of the places and regions which I passed through on my journey through Spain, because I had neither time nor opportunity to inspect them sufficiently for their correct description; also, because apart from that, considerable information of Spain is already current here through the geography by Büsching, and the works of other authors. Nevertheless, the reader will find much that is interesting in my account of this kingdom, especially in the description of the Sierra Morena, which has in recent times become famous, and of the provinces of Biscaya, Alava, and Guipúscoa, of which he perhaps has not learned heretofore.

As an appendix to this third volume, I add the reliable reports furnished us by the meritorious missionaries Eusebius Kino, Jacobus Sedelmeyer, Joannes Hugarte, and Ferdinandus Consack of their journeys, undertaken partly by land through Sonora, partly on the gulf of California, to the Colorado River, the purpose of their investigation being to ascertain whether California was an island, the opinion of the past, or only a peninsula, as it is now known to be. During my return journey, and during the time spent in the harbor of Santa María at Cádiz, Father Jacobus Sedelmeyer was a companion in captivity for eight whole years. In frequent conversations with this most reverend man I learned from him not only his own observations concerning the aforementioned subject, but also most of those made by his three brethren Kino, Hugarte, and Consack, [with the last two of whom he was well acquainted]. Because of this evidence of their truth the reports mentioned should be of even more interest to the reader.

Finally, I mention that a learned friend, who does not wish to be named, placed at my disposal various instructive footnotes to my work. These serve partly to confirm that which might seem too strange and unusual in my narrative of the customs and the nature of the Sonorans; also, to point out what is common to all American Indians, and in what they differ from each other. I was sure that these footnotes would be pleasing to the reader, and decided, therefore, to insert them into my *Description of Sonora.* They will be indicated in the work with the initials *A. C.* My own footnotes, on the other hand, will be inserted without this addition.[56]

Pfefferkorn's third volume was probably never published, if, indeed, it was ever written, for the only notice of it which has come to light is contained in the author's own preface, quoted above.[57] Volumes I and II of the *Description* were published in 1794 and 1795 respectively, when Pfefferkorn was about seventy years of age. One may surmise then that the aged missionary died before he could bring his projected work to completion, for had it existed in manuscript form it could have been published posthumously or it might at least have been discovered by later investigators.[58]

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[56] Pfefferkorn, *Preface.*

[57] *Loc. cit.*

[58] Such as Anton Huonder, S. J., Bernard Duhr, S. J., Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., or Robert Streit, O. F. M., to name but four.

Concerning the writing and publication of volumes I and II, there are certain questions which cannot be answered directly but about which it is entertaining to speculate. For instance, where did Pfefferkorn get the funds necessary to publish the volumes? It is stated on the title pages of both the volumes that they were published "at the author's expense." There had been a possibility that the ex-Jesuits would receive life-long pensions from the king of Spain after the expulsion, but apparently these pensions did not materialize.[59]

What were the specific documentary sources Pfefferkorn had at hand when he put the volumes into their final form? The private papers of the expelled Jesuits had been, for the most part, confiscated by Spanish officials during the course of the expulsion of the Jesuits; commissions were established to read through the confiscated papers with the greatest care in the hope that "incriminating evidence" would be unearthed.[60] Pfefferkorn states in introducing his chapter on the establishment of the Sonora missions[61] that he and his brother Jesuits were "robbed" of their papers, but in a footnote he remarks that in spite of this loss he was able to save and bring to Germany a part of the writings which he had set down while in Sonora.[62] Moreover, it is clear from the author's remarks concerning the conditions in New Spain and in Sonora after 1767 that he had access to letters from New Spain and to Spanish newspapers during his captivity in Spain.[63] All of these materials were of assistance to him in writing the volumes; but they must have been only fragmentary in nature. Indeed, Pfefferkorn states that his account of the establishment of the missions is not entirely reliable; that he has written down only what he could remember.[64]

Pfefferkorn's indebtedness to Father Jacob Sedelmayr for valuable information must have been considerable. Sedelmayr had gone to Mexico in 1735, some twenty years before Pfefferkorn's arrival there. He had worked in Sonora and on the California peninsula, and had explored both regions extensively.[65] Pfefferkorn definitely acknowledges that during their mutual captivity in Spain he received from Sedelmayr much information concerning the latter's explorations and the findings of other earlier Jesuits known to Sedelmayr. Sedelmayr may have made other contributions which Pfefferkorn does not take occasion to mention. Sedelmayr could have had a large share in making the composite map appended to the first volume, for he is known to have made maps and to have written careful reports about the regions which he explored.[66] Too, Sedelmayr was a student of Indian languages. Father Och states in his diary that after ten years of work Sedelmayr had prepared a lexicon of the Pima language which was destroyed in 1751 during the Pima revolt.[67] It is possible that Sedelmayr's knowledge on this subject may have assisted Pfefferkorn in drawing up the short treatise on Sonora languages which he includes in the second volume of the *Description*.[68] Pfefferkorn himself spoke the Pima language, however, as he had studied it with Father Kaspar Stiger, missionary at San Ignacio, who had been in Sonora about twenty-six years before Pfefferkorn arrived there.[69].

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[59] Och, *Nachrichten,* 168.

[60] *Ibid.,* 92-93.

[61] Pfefferkorn, II, 315. Middendorf, *Tagebuch,* Part III, 47, and Ducrue, 424, speak of Jesuit papers being confiscated in Havana, Cuba. See Mundwiler, 668, for further information about confiscations.

[62] Pfefferkorn, *loc. cit.*

[63] *Ibid.,* I, 191 ff.

[64] *Ibid.,* II, 316.

[65] Huonder, 115.

It is unnecessary to speculate further concerning the "composite" nature of the *Description* or about its other possible "co-authors." Pfefferkorn speaks of receiving much of his information from his brother Black Robes and from other "credible witnesses," for he felt, as the reader must feel, that in so doing he was broadening the base of experience and knowledge upon which the volumes rest. If he seems to us credulous at times in utilizing this second hand information, repeating as he does "yarns" about snakes that lash offenders with their tails, about mountain goats escaping from the hunter by precipitating themselves over cliffs to fall unharmed on their strong horns many feet below, we must be interested to learn that in his time such stories were often accepted as fact.

The same desire to increase the value of his work by widening its scope led him to include in both volumes some rather copious notes supplied by his "learned friend," [70] *A. C.*, who did not wish to be named. Who was *A. C.?* His identity has not yet been established, but he was an individual who had read widely in the then available literature on the New World. It is quite possible that *A. C.* was an ex-Jesuit. He not only was Pfefferkorn's friend but was acquainted also with Father Georg Rehds, an ex-Jesuit, who had been a missionary in Lower California.[71] Moreover, he had access to some writings of Father Joannes Breuer, ex-Jesuit, and onetime missionary in Brazil;[72] he does not reveal how he came by these. More than once *A. C.* chides his contemporary, the historian Robertson, for the latter's failure to use missionary letters as sources for descriptions of the Americas.[73] And *A. C.* himself relied heavily on the writings of Jesuit missionaries for his annotations of the *Description.* The annotations of *A. C.* add little that is valuable to Pfefferkorn's volumes. The notes are usually irrelevant to the material given by Pfefferkorn. Also they are tedious, inasmuch as *A. C.* attempted to generalize about the Western Hemisphere from incomplete and inadequate sources and strained to compare a wide variety of phenomena observed in Sonora with analogous or similar phenomena recorded in connection with regions other than Sonora.

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[66] *Loc. cit.*

[67] Och, *Nachrichten*, 75.

[68] Pfefferkorn, 240 ff.

[69] Pfefferkorn, 243, says that Stiger had been a missionary for thirty-six years, but Huonder, 116, states that Stiger arrived in Mexico in 1730. Hence, he would have been in Mexico only twenty-six years before Pfefferkorn arrived there.

[70] See above, p. 246.

These annotations provide the only irrelevant material in the *Description.* Pfefferkorn himself seldom deviates from his purpose, which is to tell as much as he knows about Sonora. His organization of subject matter is quite categorical, especially in the first volume which is devoted primarily to "natural history." This categorical method of writing doubtless has its advantages in enabling the author to set down with greater clarity facts which he was reproducing from memory and from incomplete notes. Perhaps also the confiscation of most of Pfefferkorn's notes by the Spaniards accounts for the most conspicuous weakness of the *Description,* namely, its frequent failure to associate matters of geographical and anthropological fact with specific regions.

The author invites criticism also for his predilection for including *Merkwürdigkeiten* when the reader is consumed with curiosity about the mission system or perhaps about the author's own activities as a missionary. With regard to the latter subject Pfefferkorn states in his preface that he was a missionary in three missions, but nowhere in his two volumes does he mention specifically that he was charged with caring for more than the two missions of Ati and Cucurpe. Here is a case where our author's reluctance to write autobiographically makes impossible a complete answer to the problem of the third mission.[74]

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[71] For references to Rehds, see Pfefferkorn, I, 136, footnote; II, 300, footnote. Huonder, 114, says that Rehds went to Mexico in 1748 and worked in Lower California until the expulsion.

[72] For references to Breuer, see Pfefferkorn, I, 284, footnote, and 297, footnote.

[73] *Ibid.,* II, 128, footnote.

Despite various weaknesses of the *Description,* both in style and in content, we may find much satisfaction in Pfefferkorn's achievement. Everything he has written in the two volumes is of historical, geographical, anthropological, or antiquarian interest and value. He had seen more and done more during his lifetime of three score years and ten than many another of his contemporaries, and he humbly offers us his *Description of the Province of Sonora* as a testimony of the most active and fruitful part of his life. His intention was solely to write a description of a region in which he worked, not an autobiography of his own labors in that region. It is yet probable that those glimpses which he gives us of his own life in Sonora, especially as his existence must have been like that of his brother missionaries, are historically the most valuable portions of the volumes.

One pictures a sturdy young man, keenly aware of the enormous, perhaps insurmountable, obstacles that stand between his determination to bring spiritual enlightenment to a brutish people and the realization of that aim. Such obstacles ranged from the comparatively simple problem of making himself understood by the natives to the vastly more difficult ones of altering the barbaric manners and customs of the natives so that they would be the more receptive to Christianity, and of rescuing the Indians from the evil consequences which attended their weaker culture in its clash with the stronger Spanish culture.

He made himself understood to the Indians by learning their language. He achieved something in altering their manners and customs by his own gentle example, by ceaselessly correcting and guiding them, and now and then, it seems, by a display of righteous wrath. He combatted the "evil individuals" among the Spaniards in the only way that he and his fellow missionaries knew, namely, by attempting to keep the Indians isolated from the members of the conquering race.

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[74] When Pfefferkorn first arrived in Sonora he was ordered to reestablish mission Sonóita, scene of Father Ruhen's martyrdom which took place in 1751 during the Pima revolt. This project came to naught; there is no record that Pfefferkorn did any evangelizing in the Sonóita area. The "third mission" was perhaps that of San Ignacio, where Father Stiger resided, and where Pfefferkorn studied the Pima tongue with the aged Swiss Jesuit. A note in Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States, 1531-1880* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 561-562, gives still another clue to the identity of the author's third mission. Bancroft refers to a letter of Father José Garrucho, visitor in Sonora, wherein there is reference to "Father Ignacio Pfefencor," missionary at Guébavi. San Gabriel de Guébavi was but a few miles northeast of present-day Nogales, Arizona. Bancroft derived his information from the "Informe del Padre Lizazoin sobre las Provincias de Sonora y Nueva Viscaya," in *Materiales para la historia de Sonora.*

This priest was intensely practical in his evangelizing. He managed his stock and his farming so well that he could save money with which to buy clothing and implements for his Indians. He studied books on medicine and investigated native remedies so that he might physic his sick charges. He rode horseback in the sun and in the rain, by day and by night, to minister to the wants of his flock. He was practical enough even to be discouraged at times, but his feelings of discouragement were only the breaths he took to enable him to work the more vigorously.

And with all this he preserved his sense of humor. We see him withhold his laughter only with difficulty as he holds a mirror before a grimacing Indian who is investigating the mysteries of this strange object for the first time. We note his concern at the sight of an Indian lying unconscious before him, but sense his amusement when he is able to bring instantaneous relief to this native—who has gorged himself on mesquite fruit—by tickling the glutton's throat with a feather. And we watch him urge his horse to a gallop as he accepts the challenge of his Indian guides who have boasted of their fleetness of foot.

In the saddle or out of it, Pfefferkorn's life as missionary was an arduous round of service to his Indians and to those Spaniards who might be living within the boundaries of his mission district. He acted as spiritual guide, as doctor and nurse, as magistrate, as teacher of music, as farmer and stock-raiser. With all this he yet had time to observe and record on paper and in his memory the large number of facts and generalizations which years later he wrote in his *Description*. But he was prevented from assembling yet more elaborate accounts, for in his own words the writing of a detailed and complete natural history "would have required the most exact observations, and consequently much more time than was permitted by the official duties of a missionary." [75]

Still there were times when by candle-light in the solitude of his chamber he could ponder over the problems which are too big for man to understand. Hosts of brilliant moths, attracted by the candle, fluttered into the room extinguishing the light with their whirring wings until the priest fashioned a paper screen to shield the flame. Now he could work, but now also his native curiosity overcame him. He placed vessels of water next the lantern so that the moths, colliding with the screen would fall into the water trapped. "Then," he says, "I had the opportunity to admire the inimitable colors and decorations which nature squandered on these insects. . . . It is impossible for a rational mind to remain unmoved when regarding this wonder of nature. One feels the undeniable existence of the Creator; one is astonished at His incomprehensible work. One is humbled by His unmeasured grandeur; and one is animated by the most tender desires to bring to nature's Creator the fitting sacrifice of veneration, praise, and thankfulness." [76]

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[75] See above, p. 244.

THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

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[76] Pfefferkorn, I, 381-383.

Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, Dominican of the Frontier

The march of civilization is not a self-propelling movement. Behind it, giving it direction and character, is a complexity of forces, good, bad and indifferent. It has been said of one of the greatest civilizing efforts in history, the Spanish pioneering of the New World, that three capital motives inspired the actors, gospel, greed and glory, the urges, namely, to spread the Faith, to acquire wealth, to further national prestige or individual fame. Of the three motives, that of spreading the Faith was in a sense the most fundamental. No one abreast of the findings of present-day research fails to see that Spanish policy in the New World was directed with more sincerity than might at first sight appear to a religious aim—the settled purpose to bring under the yoke of Christ the native populations whose lands were overrun by the ruthless *conquistadores*. This was the missionary idea, the effort to throw out the boundaries of the Church in ever widening circles among the aborigines sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.

What was true of Spain in America was also true of France in America. That glamorous figure, Samuel Champlain, founder of New France, announced from the beginning that the purpose of his great adventure was to carry the Cross even more so than the fleur-de-lis into the vast reaches of the New World. So it resulted that amid Canadian forests as well as the prairies and streams of the valley of the Mississippi were to be found the missionaries of New France, plying their tasks of spiritual instruction as well as economic and cultural uplift on behalf of the red men. That sacred *magna carta* of the Christian teacher, the divine injunction, "teach all nations," was also in a very true sense the *magna carta* of civilization. No other agency in the stream of time has achieved even a tithe of the civilizing and cultural effects that were begotten of the Christ-given commission to teach all nations.

The study of the Christian missionary as the torch-bearer of civilization no less than of the Gospel is an intriguing one and an

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infinity of books could be written around the theme. Need I tell you that here in the Middle United States the missionary has made his contribution to whatever economic and cultural development has been achieved? Very recently attempts have been made to evaluate the place of the non-Catholic missionary and religious teacher in the history of the frontier. This is a study of importance, but it does not concern us here. What may concern us for the moment is the place which our own Catholic missionaries fill in the frontier story. Unquestionably the word "frontier" has a magic about it; it overflows with the finest associations. It tells of romance, adventure, courage, enterprise, sacrifice, and, let it be said, for only the truth is satisfying, it tells also of things not at all inspiring, of sordid acquisitiveness, social injustice, man's inhumanity to man. But by and large and in the wealth of meaning, of denotation and connotation expressed by it, this single verbal counter, this term "frontier" has probably more in it to inspire and thrill than any other term of those we make use of in rehearsing the facts of American history. It recaptures for us the entire process by which the pioneers of other days made their way with slow but relentless pace across the continent from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast. It epitomizes that victorious wrestling with the wilderness, that infinite output of initiative, energy, daring, and sacrifice that went to the making of the West.

The frontier began on the day which saw the first colonist turn his back on the sight of the Atlantic to seek a new home in the direction of the setting sun. So did the westward movement begin, so did the frontier start to shape itself as the most significant phenomenon in our national history. That thin fringe of settlement which we call the frontier, that advance column of civilized or semi-civilized life, that spearhead of economic development thrust into the barbarism beyond, had a stimulus behind it and this was the lure of free land in the West. Millions of acres of government land of the finest agricultural possibilities were within reach at prices that made them a gift. Here was the prize that eastern folk stretched forth their hands to grasp. Here was the objective that drew them on, creating thereby the American frontier and the race of American frontiersmen. And when one has said "frontier," one has said the whole of American history, at least if we are to accept the gospel according to Turner as established truth.

Forty years and three have now elapsed since Professor

Henry Jackson Turner announced his famous theory which sought to explain the entire course of American history with all the major issues and problems involved therein in terms of the advancing frontier. The theory gave a decided impulse to work in the western history field and a whole school of historians grew up around it. But if it has had and continues to have its ardent devotees, it also has its searching critics. On economic and material factors it does of a certainty lay heavy stress and sometimes in a manner to suggest that non-material and spiritual factors did not operate at all. And here precisely is the weakness of the Turnerian viewpoint, when stated, as it often is, without qualification and reserve. The quest for free land and other motives of the economic order stimulated the westward movement enormously and kept it going; but motives of a higher sort, cultural, religious, spiritual in their scope, were also at work to make the movement what it was. The missionaries who plied their ministerial tasks on the line of the frontier had not gone thither with a view to taking up land and making a living nor were they fired by dreams of economic wealth. They had gone thither with a view to preach the Gospel, to save souls, to promote the glory of God; these aims were primary with them, though in compassing them they incidentally made contributions of note to the social and economic welfare of the communities in which they lived. They were in the truest sense of the term frontiersmen, but frontiersmen with ideals and aims that marked them off from other elements in the pioneer population in which their lot was cast. It is to honor the memory of a great frontiersman of this type that we are come here today.

For the thirty years and more that the Italian-born Dominican friar, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, was a participant in the American scene, the theatre of his activities was some or other corner of the American frontier. When in 1830 he went up from his Ohio home to Mackinac as a newly consecrated priest, the holy oils of ordination still fresh upon him, he found himself on the rim of civilized America; when he passed away thirty-four years later, it was in an obscure settlement in southwestern Wisconsin, a region that had scarcely emerged as yet from the pioneer stage of development. In the years between he had labored in divers localities; at Sault-Ste-Marie in Michigan, at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien in Wisconsin, at Galena and Rock Island in Illinois, at Dubuque, Davenport, Iowa City in Iowa—all, in his day, pioneer communities with the ear-marks of immaturity plain upon them. Almost exclusively the people he dealt with were of the humbler sort, red men of various tribes, French-Canadian habitants of pure or mixed blood, the simple, unlettered immigrant stock, chiefly from Ireland or Germany, who were beginning to people the Northwest. Rarely in his missionary rounds did he meet with tokens of culture and social refinement such as he had known in the aristocratic Italian circles from which he came. Providence had indeed directed his steps to play the rôle of an apostle of the frontier and in the admirable efficiency with which he played it is to be found his chief title to posterity's gratitude and praise.

In a revealing letter which he addressed to that great object of his admiration, Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, Father Mazzuchelli declared that the three outstanding tasks of the missionary priest of his day were: to preserve the Catholic faith of such as were already blessed with it, to organize new parishes, and to build new churches. To these may be added two other tasks which he leaves unmentioned in his letter to Rosati, though in his own ministry he devoted himself to them with the utmost earnestness, namely, the conversion of the Indians and the spread of Catholic education. Here were five objectives which between them absorbed the energies and priestly zeal of this devoted priest of the Order of Preachers during the years that he moved about on the American frontier. The result was a personal achievement for the upbuilding of the Church unique in the history of western Catholicism. From the Great Lakes region to the banks of the Mississippi he pursued his tireless and highly fruitful ministry, sowing often in travail of spirit and distress of body the harvests which later generations were to gather in with joy.

The first of the objectives to engage the zeal of Father Mazzuchelli, to pursue the line of thought which he himself indicated, was the preservation of the Faith in the various Catholic groups with which he made contact. Any priest who rises to the demands of his high vocation must necessarily be concerned for the preservation of the Faith in the souls committed to his care. But with Father Mazzuchelli concern for souls, for their eternal salvation, which meant supplying them with sacramental and other means of grace, rose to heroic heights. One of Newman's "Plain and Parochial Sermons" bears the caption "Self-denial the Test of Religious Earnestness." Nothing evidences more the downright sincerity and resoluteness of a priest of God in his care of souls than the sacrifices he is ready to make on their account. The sacrifices which Father Mazzuchelli made of personal convenience and comfort, the physical hardships he submitted to in order to be of service to souls, were beyond number. Painful journeys of scores of miles were made to bring the sacraments to the sick and dying and made often with just enough of nourishment to keep body and soul together. He tells in his memoirs of a missionary trip on which for a whole week he subsisted on nothing more than the meager stock of bread and butter he had brought along with him. But experiences of this sort, however painful they may have been, were made little of when they were the price to be paid for the salvation of a human soul. It is unnecessary to say that it was vivid faith and the fire which springs therefrom, the love of God, which stimulated the stalwart Dominican in his eager quest of souls. The attitude of St. Paul he had made his own also, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." And with what lively realization of its import he had taken to heart the Master's own word, "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" Briefly, his attitude in the sacred ministry was at all times that of the saints as expressed in the piercing plea of one of them, *"Domine, da mihi animas!"* The thirty-four years of his indefatigable ministerial career closed in fine on this note of sacrifice of self in the pursuit of souls. The illness which terminated in his holy death was brought on by the haste with which he had exposed himself to inclement weather to answer a distant sick-call.

I said a moment ago, a very obvious thing, it must be confessed, that Father Mazzuchelli was a man of vivid faith. It is the characteristic of him which more than any other is brought home to one by the reading of his memoirs. The realities of the unseen world, the realities which eye hath not seen nor ear heard but which faith alone makes contact with, were for him those which alone mattered. Nothing so much as his abounding supernatural faith explains what he was and what he did. Everything about him, his patience, his self-denial, his charity, his zeal for souls, the eagerness and ardor of his ministry, strike their roots in the depth and sincerity of his faith.

I have thought it pertinent to stress this aspect of Father Mazzuchelli's spiritual life, because, as I cannot repeat too often, it helps us more than anything else to understand him, and also because it synthesizes better than anything that I know the message with which the record of his life will be eloquent down the years. No prayer could be more beautiful than the one which the Gospel tells us the disciples addressed on one occasion to the Master: "O Lord, increase our faith!" That surely was Mazzuchelli's lifelong prayer. That surely must be ours also, if life is to spell success for us and not a dismal failure. "O Lord, increase our faith." Deepen it, broaden it, make it proof against the vanities and futilities of time, awaken us ever more to its beauty, its power, make us at all times so minded that it will ever be for us the pearl of great price, the one thing necessary, having which, we have all things, and losing which, we lose the one thing which makes life worth living.

A second objective pointed out by Father Mazzuchelli as proper to the missionary-priest of his day was the organization of new parishes. The Church of Christ as now organized is a society of complex structure integrated of many administrative units, as ecclesiastical provinces, archdioceses, dioceses and parishes. Of the units named the parish is the most basic, the laity being brought therein in immediate dependence on the parish priest as the nearest to them of all the ecclesiastical superiors to whom they owe obedience. It was Father Mazzuchelli's endeavor, whenever the thing was possible, to associate the scattered Catholic settlers together in parochial groups. Only with such organization, which brought with it their official commitment to the care of pastors with diocesan credentials, were their spiritual interests duly safeguarded. The list of parishes that owe their creation to Father Mazzuchelli is an imposing one and witnesses to one of the most fruitful phases of his apostolate. Both his memoirs and his correspondence with Bishop Rosati of St. Louis are replete with data, interesting and edifying, which illustrate his activities as a founder and organizer of parishes.

But no parish is really organized until it has its church. The church is the dynamic center of parochial life, the normal rendezvous where the pastor makes contact with his assembled flock and dispenses to them the sacraments and the Word of God. To build churches was therefore the third objective which, as Father Mazzuchelli saw it, the pioneer missionary-priest of his day had to have before him. In the rôle of church-builder he himself achieved a distinction which is unique among the many which history attaches to his name. Not only did he make the preliminary arrangements and collect the funds for the erection of numerous houses of worship in the far-flung territory over which his ministry ranged; on occasion at least he made architect's plans for such structures, which were built in accordance with them. He had a talent for architecture which he had cultivated by formal study of the subject in his younger days. No talent could have served him better in his experience on the frontier. Repeatedly the need was felt for a new church here or there and in his rôle of architect he could help, directly or indirectly, to supply the need. And so he planned churches, built them, gave them names. He put up St. John's Church at Green Bay; later, when he had shifted his field of operations to the upper Mississippi, his hands were busy rearing one sacred edifice after another, among them, St. Raphael's at Dubuque, St. Michael's at Galena, St. Gabriel's at Prairie du Chien, St. Anthony's at Davenport, St. Paul's at Burlington, The Assumption at Iowa City. His reputation as an architect became widespread in Catholic and non-Catholic circles alike and it is unnecessary to repeat here the well-known tradition that he furnished plans which were put to account in the erection of some of the historic public buildings of the Northwest.

Organizing parishes, building churches, and in general, exercising the sacred ministry on behalf of souls already blessed with the gift of faith did not by any means exhaust the zealous activities of Father Mazzuchelli. He owed also a debt of service to the thousands of Indians of the various tribes still to be found in the wide field which he cultivated. The efficiency with which he discharged that debt stands out as one of the most striking features of his apostolate. The Church has ever cherished and cherishes today with probably greater earnestness than ever missionary enterprise among the heathen. Her persistent desire, her steady hope is that all heathendom be brought within range of her salutary teaching. To us, who are aware of Father Mazzuchelli's vivid faith, ardent charity, and their product, an untiring zeal for souls, it seems a matter of course that he should have turned wherever opportunity offered to the rich harvest that lay within easy reach of the garnerer, to the forlorn Indians. At Mackinac, at the very outset of his missionary career, he made the acquaintance of one tribe after another, among them, the Chippewa and Ottawa. Later he worked with excellent results among the Menominee and Winnebago of Wisconsin. What chiefly impresses one in his career as Indian missionary is the abundant visible success which blessed his labors. He picked up the languages of the red men with a facility that was nothing less than extraordinary. He was but a relatively short time with the Winnebago when he had mastered their language to a degree that enabled him to prepare a prayer-book in Winnebago, which was printed in Detroit. Brought under the yoke of Christ, his Indian neophytes showed themselves worthy of it. Father Mazzuchelli said of the thousand or more of Father Baraga's Catholic Indians at Arbre Croche that most if not nearly all of them lived in the baptismal innocence that came to them in the sacrament of regeneration. The Dominican's own converts among the Winnebago ran into numbers surprisingly large. A school for the children of this tribe was one of his cherished dreams. He never realized the dream, but the efforts he made to set up such an institution and secure for it a government appropriation make an interesting episode of his career and one that reveals him in the light of a personality of force and determination, who knew how to deal with pressing business problems when need arose. All in all, Father Mazzuchelli carried on in striking fashion the glorious tradition of evangelical service rendered to the American red men through the centuries by zealous missionaries of the great religious orders of the Church.

No one has yet put on record with anything like adequacy the contribution which Father Mazzuchelli made to the cause of Catholic education in the United States. He was nothing if not alive to the tendencies and implications of the new social order that was taking shape around him. Above all, he was quick to sense the part which schools were to play in preserving and enlarging the Faith in the American Catholic body. He saw a young nation, largely non-Catholic in its religious status, growing up under his eyes and, with the keen intelligence that ever marked him, he divined the importance which, as a vigorous and assertive democracy, it would inevitably attach to the proper education of its citizens. American Catholics would therefore have to be an educated body if they were to rise to the demands of the noble citizenship which they were beginning to share in ever increasing numbers. At the same time there was the fact to be reckoned with that the education suited to them would have to be of the religious type, one that would insure to Catholic youth due instruction and training in the Faith. This meant Catholic schools and to provide them in the parishes under his care Father Mazzuchelli left no stone unturned. In his program of parish organization the school house was a no less important factor than the church. Sometimes in the initial stages of parish growth the same structure had necessarily to serve the purposes of both; but with time and means it generally became possible to terminate this makeshift arrangement and a school house, sacred to the high ends of Catholic education, rose alongside the parish church.

But school buildings alone could not solve the problem they were supposed to; teachers had to be found to conduct the classes. Mazzuchelli met the situation with characteristic resourcefulness. He did so by taking a step the most fertile and far-reaching in results of all that are on record in the wide sweep of his ministry. This was the foundation of a congregation of sisters whose major interest would be education. He crossed the Atlantic to lay his plans before the highest superiors of his order and secure approval for them. The result was the establishment at his hands with authorization of the Holy See of a community of Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic under the name of the Congregation of the Most Holy Rosary. Later came papal approval of the constitutions of the sisterhood, which from the first had made its way to a place, a notable one, among the groups of valiant religious women engaged in the apostolate of Catholic education in the United States. Elementary education was the most pressing need of the moment in the parishes of the Northwest, as elsewhere in the land, and this need the new American foundation of Dominican Sisters set themselves to supply. But it is a remarkable fact that almost simultaneously the same group of nuns took up the work of the higher education of women.

Father Mazzuchelli has his place, which is a distinguished one, among the pioneer educational leaders of the Northwest. He opened at Sinsinawa Mound in 1846 a school of college grade for boys, an astonishing institution to find in an environment which still had about it the characteristic ear-marks of the frontier. A few years later the same indefatigable promoter of education opened, under the auspices of the sisterhood he had founded, St. Clara's Academy for young women, an institution which developed into St. Clara's College and ultimately into the majestic center of instruction in the arts and sciences in which we are gathered today. The program of academic service which Rosary College is at present carrying out looks back for its inspiration to the illustrious Dominican educator whose holy memory we venerate at this moment. Perhaps his expectations, always lively, as suited his ardent and forward-looking temper, did not envisage the impressive development we look upon today; but certain it is that Rosary College does but carry forward the tradition of higher education for the Catholic womanhood of America which he initiated and even realized in his day on a scale amazing enough when one considers the crude material realities of the pioneer scene in which his work was done.

Here is a rapid survey of Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli's life-story, a wholly inadequate survey, it is plain, when account is taken of the range of achievement it is meant to cover. But in any case it may be possible, perhaps, to discern, however dimly, through its feeble lines, the commanding figure of a great pioneer priest of the West, who served Church and state with admirable devotion and left them both permanently in his debt. I have chosen to give Father Mazzuchelli the character of a clerical frontiersman and in doing so I am confident I have done no violence to the facts. Destiny, which is the Providence of God, had made the American frontier the scene of his earthly wayfaring, the stage of his activities throughout the thirty-four years of his priestly career. The nature of those activities, the results which they begot, are a patent refutation of the viewpoint, if indeed any be so shortsighted as to hold it in its simple crudity, that economic forces alone achieved the making of the West. The religious objectives that drew on the famous Dominican were as concrete, as fertile of worth-while results as the lure of free land or any other incentive in the economic order. Rather were they more fertile of worth-while results than any merely economic objective could possibly have been. They issued in uncounted visible tokens of spiritual and religious growth, and such tokens are an immeasurably greater gain to a community than any degree of merely material growth, however superb it be. Among the makers of the West, among the valiant spirits that led in the shaping of it to all the noble ends to which these United States of America are dedicated, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, priest and religious of the great Dominican order, has taken secure place, all the more secure that his successes were primarily of the supernatural order and such as a man of the frontier of his sort might well ambition, for his watchword was ever the scriptural one, "we have not here a lasting city but we seek one that is to come."

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

Jesuit Annual Letters in the Bancroft Library

It is a heavenly boon for the historian to have at hand an abundance of sources wherefrom he may learn the past and truthfully write about it. Because certain of the ancient Roman historian Livy's books have been lost, there are certain things we shall never know of the development of the ancient Roman republic. Because some writings of Sallust have perished we shall always lack complete knowledge of the ancient Roman wars, as Sallust described them. Through the ravages of time and destruction of documents, some events have swung forever from out of the ken of humans.

In the modern age letter writing, when it is serious and authentic, and especially when it is the report of an official or of a doer, comprises a very important source of history. How many things we would not know, how many colorful pictures would be omitted from the screen of history, had the Venetian ambassadors throughout the courts of modern Europe been less observing and less communicative. Of greater importance to American historians are the reports of the explorer and the missionary working in the New World after the discovery of the Americas. We would know much less about the conquest of Mexico did Bernal Díaz del Castillo not write his *True History of the Conquest;* and details of the discovery of the Mississippi would have been completely buried in oblivion had not Marquette and Joliet handed to posterity reports of their famous river voyage. Had the *conquistador* and the *coureur de bois* written more often we should know more clearly today how the New World was opened up; we should know more about thrilling experiences and savage encounters. If a missionary accompanied an explorer, which was sometimes the case, the former often left a report. It was fortunate for history that Orellana sailing down the Amazon had with him the Franciscan friar, Gaspar de Cárvajal; it was good too that when Juan Pérez sailed far up the west coast to Alaska he took with him Juan Crespi. So Drake had his Fletcher and Serra his Palou.

Fortunately for mission history in the New World, especially for Jesuit mission history, the Jesuit missionaries not only wrote a great deal, but their writing was organized and official. An official report to the Roman headquarters had from the beginning been a means among the Jesuits of preserving and promoting a unity of purpose and action which was partly responsible for the measure of their success. Soon more casual letter writing was crystallized into a system; official reports had to be written annually by superiors in each house to the Provincial; each Provincial made a brief of these, synthesized the contents into one letter, and sent it to Rome. These were the famous annual letters, *litterae annuae* in Latin, *cartas anuas* in Spanish, familiarly referred to in the mission history of the Spaniards as the *anuas.*[1]

In these paragraphs we wish to speak particularly about those annual letters which are connected with the history of the Jesuit province of New Spain and especially with the missionary history of that province. It is with this particular plot of history, the North American West, that the Bancroft Library of the University of California is chiefly concerned, and since the Jesuits had some place in the development of the west coast history, it is fitting that the Bancroft Library should become a depot of Jesuit source material.[2] Because this reservoir of history has recently been deepened and broadened through the interest and the vision of Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton, this article seems apropos at the present time.

The Jesuits in New Spain fell into the general trend of letter writing. The superior of each unit (residence, college, or mission) of the province sent in yearly a written report of the activities and developments to the Provincial resident in Mexico City, in colonial days called simply Mexico. When the permanent missions, *entre infieles,* were founded, the superior of the missions sent in his report annually to the Provincial. But as the missions spread and the personnel increased, each particular missionary working in the wilds, or, as often happened, the leader of two working together, sent in to his immediate superior a report of his activities. These letters of particular missionaries were sent in to the superior of the missions at any time during the year, particularly after an *entrada,* or entrance, had been made into some new tribe or district. After the passing of each year, and usually early in spring, the superior of the missions synthesized these letters and sent the completed report to his Provincial in Mexico City. Often these *anuas* from the missions incorporated whole letters from individual missionaries, one or another of which the Provincial, in turn, might incorporate into his own report of the whole province before forwarding it to Rome. The annual letters from New Spain with those from every other Provincial of the Old World and of the New were ultimately filed away in a central Jesuit archive at Rome. Copies of course were kept in the archives of each province. Now, late in 1937, through the initiative of Dr. Bolton, photostat copies of the available *anuas* of New Spain were sent from these central archives to the Bancroft Library. The photostats have been enlarged at the University of California to facilitate reading and are now available for the research student.

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[1] The word is more often spelt *annua* in the reports. The preferred modern usage seems to be *anua;* but we sometime see it with the tilde, *añua.*

[2] The writer has been aided in the present study by the work of Dr. Marion Reynolds who has arranged and catalogued the *anuas.*

These *anuas* from the central archives are not complete, though certain series running through many years form a continuous story for such and such a period. Beginning with 1573 the reports go down with breaks to 1763. The longest run is from 1591 to 1628, though eleven years are missing even here. There is a gap of three years after 1576, and of six years after 1584. Then there is a large lacuna from 1629 to 1643. With this latter year the series begins again, but runs intermittently up to 1653. Then the letters fall out for over a century, that is, from 1653 to 1757 with the sole exception of the years from 1674 to 1680, which six years are combined into one narrative.

Fortunately, there are other collections of *anuas* besides those of the central archives of Europe and these in very important measure supplement, especially for the missions, the central archives. First there is the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, the official Mexican archives in Mexico City, which among documents relating to various departments, such as *Historia, Provincias Internas, Californias,* include also the section entitled *Misiones,* which consists of twenty-seven volumes. Now volumes twenty-five and twenty-six of the group labeled *Misiones* contain besides other reports, narratives, and letters, also an important collection of those portions of the annual letters which refer to the missions, and often they contain the whole *anua*. When these archives contain selections only of the *anua* they are entitled *Puntos de Cartas Anuas*. These latter represent for the missions the original report sent to the Provincial by the general superior of the missions or letters of individual missionaries direct to the Provincial. The *puntos* are often therefore more detailed than the general *anua,* except where the former have been incorporated into it.

We can find in *Misiones* 25, at least as far as the missions are concerned, that group of *anuas* following 1628 which are missing from the central archives. From 1622 to 1647 there is here a fine run of *anuas* with only six years missing from this whole period. Then the *Misiones* 26 carries along from 1645 to 1690 filling a large gap of the central archives after 1653. But there are omissions here too. A decade after 1665 is missing and a decade after 1680, besides three other years. Some of these which are only *puntos* contain merely slight reports of some particular college and omit the missions altogether. For instance there is in this volume 26 nothing about the missions for the five *anuas* from the years 1654 to 1662. But there are compensations elsewhere, for the *puntos* of 1653 have a fine report on the missions in twenty-six manuscript folios, or fifty-two pages. These contain precious statistics from many particular missions; while the *puntos de cartas anuas* for 1678 contain in fifty-eight manuscript folios, or 116 pages, a most thorough and detailed report of all the missions of northwest Mexico, made at the order of the Provincial as the result of a visitation by Juan Órtiz Zapata. Such a document is priceless for the historian. It should be remarked about this collection of *anuas* and *puntos de cartas anuas* from volumes 25 and 26 of the collection *Misiones,* contained in the Archivo General in Mexico City, that they are often manuscript copies from originals which are now dispersed in various places. Proof of this is that they do not always bear the signatures of the Provincial.

Now from these sets in the Archivo General in Mexico City two other copies have been made through the initiative of Dr. Bolton and have been acquired by the Bancroft Library. One set is an accurately typed copy of these two volumes made by a member of the staff of the Archivo; the other set is a photostat copy of these same volumes. With this check of the two sets in the Bancroft absolute scientific accuracy can be assured, though there cannot always be such check on the scribe who did the first copying from the originals. But, when the *anuas* of the Archivo General are compared with photostat copies of the *anuas* of the central archives in Europe, one finds substantial agreement, except for the Latin versions, which are usually abridged.

There is still another important series in the Bancroft Library, which comprises *puntos de cartas anuas,* being selections from the main *anuas* of those parts which concern the missions of the north and northwest. This is a very legible and very beautiful manuscript from a portion of a huge collection of copied documents, made in 1790-1792 for Charles IV, king of Spain, under the direction of the Franciscan Father Francisco Figueroa.[3] It is entitled: *Memorias para la Historia de la Provincia de Sinaloa.* It contains a run of the mission *anuas* of Sinaloa from 1593 to 1626 with the omission of only seven years. For the missions east of the Sierra Madre it is far from complete. This set, relative to that of the central archives, covers the same period and acts as a complement and vice versa. For instance between 1607 and 1626 ten of the years which are wanting to the central archives are contained in the *Memorias.* While on the other hand there are six years between the above dates which are missing in the *Memorias* but are present in the central archives. Another manuscript copy of the same documents as are contained in the *Memorias* are in the Bancroft Library under the title: *Documentos para la Historia de Sinaloa.*

Smaller collections of the *anuas* duplicate or complete these four large series. The most important of these may be found in various parts of the well-known printed collection: *Documentos para la Historia de México.* These were taken from the documents in the Archivo General in Mexico. Besides seven *anuas* of the earlier years which are a duplication, this printed collection adds to all the others the *anua* of 1668 to be found in the third volume of the fourth series, and the *anuas* from 1742 to 1751 contained in the fourth volume of this same series. Photostats from originals in the Newberry Library, Chicago, for the years 1615-1617 and two originals for the years 1614 and 1615 complete the collection of these Jesuits documents and reports which find a home in the Bancroft Library of the University of California.

Coming now to a comparison and an evaluation of the different sets and copies of the *anuas* of the Province of New Spain, we find that those from the central archives are often in Latin, while those of the Archivo General in Mexico City and of the *Memorias* are always in Spanish. For instance, in the central archives of Europe in the series from 1573 to 1653 which contains *anuas* for forty-one respective years, thirty are in Latin, seven are in Spanish, five have both Latin and Spanish versions, while two are both in Spanish and Italian. In comparing the Latin versions with the Spanish an interesting fact makes its appearance: the reports to Rome were first written in Spanish and then translated into Latin for the central archives. The result is that the Spanish originals are invariably more complete; the Latin versions are briefer and more general, in matter if not always in style. One can find, however, whole sections where the material of the two versions is an exact repetition. This is so whether we compare the Latin and Spanish texts of the central archives, or whether we compare the Latin of the central archives with the Spanish of the Archivo General or of the *Memorias.*

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[3] For a full description and evaluation of these copies, cf. Herbert E. Bolton: *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico,* 20 ff.

The *anua* of 1615 makes a good subject for comparison. There is first the original in Spanish, then a photostat copy in Spanish and in Latin respectively from the central archives, then a photostat copy of a Spanish version in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and finally the Spanish copy in the *Memorias.* Of these five sets the original is the most complete, while the Latin copy is the most summary, being quite abbreviated. The Spanish copies of the central archives and of the Newberry Library, differing slightly one with the other, are more brief than the original, while that of the *Memorias* runs word for word with the Newberry Library copy. This can be verified if we consult, for instance, that portion of the *anua* of 1615 which has to do with the Tepehuán missions. In the *anua* of 1610, comparing its Spanish text of the central archives with the copy in the *Memorias,* we find the latter an exact copy. In the *anua* of 1611, comparing the Latin text of the central archives, where it treats of the Sinaloa missions, with the Spanish copy in the *Memorias,* we find that the latter is much more detailed. The *Memorias* gives a letter of Father Pedro Méndez, which is synopsized in the third person in the central archives.[4] In the *Memorias,* letters of Fathers Martín Pérez, Pedro de Velasco, and Juan de Gallegos are given in whole or in part. These are omitted in the Latin version of the central archives and these men are dismissed with a brief notice. The Latin version likewise omits the number of infants and adults baptized that year in the missions of Sinaloa.[5]

In the central archives of Europe there are three different

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[4] *Memorias,* 437 ff. and Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 14, 604 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*

anuas covering the year 1602, the year of a serious revolt among the Acaxée Indians in the mountain borders of Sinaloa. There are here three Spanish narratives of this revolt. Two of them are substantially the same with minor differences, one apparently taken from the other.[6] The third is a different and a briefer account.[7] Comparing the Spanish text of the *anua* of 1622 in the *Memorias* with the Spanish of the Archivo General we find that the former is generally an exact copy of the latter, except for the paragraphing.[8]

Let us examine now, as a whole, one particular *anua,* that of 1617, of which the Bancroft Library contains two copies, one in Latin from the central Jesuit archives, the other in Spanish from the Newberry Library. Understanding that the Spanish text is more detailed, but substantially the same as the Latin, let us see the order of the Latin version.[9] First come the reports concerning each of the four communities in Mexico beginning with the Professed House, and going on to the *Colegio Máximo,* here called *Collegium Mexicanum* (*Colegio de Mexico* in the Spanish text), and then speaking respectively of the two seminaries of San Gregorio and San Ildefonso. Next comes the report of the college in Puebla, then of the novitiate at Tepotzotlán, then of the college of Oaxaca, and so on, until fourteen colleges and houses have been reported on. Then come towards the end as is always the case, the reports on the missions, of those on the west coast, of the mountains and of those east of the Sierra Madre. The reports on the west coast include the missions among the Suaqui, Mayo, and Yaqui Indians, who inhabited the banks of the Fuerte, Mayo, and Yaqui rivers, flowing into the Gulf of California. The mountain missions reported on are those of Topia and San Andrés. Finally come the missions of the Tepehuán Indians east of the mountains up to the newly mentioned post of Parral. The missions of the flat Laguna country, usually reported on, are here omitted.

The matter contained in the various *anuas* is often of scientific value, even though we exclude the reports on the missions, which have their own historical significance. Regarding the houses and colleges we read that the fathers work zealously for the good of souls and that the faithful frequent the Jesuit churches and receive the sacraments therein in encouraging numbers. We read of the pomp of certain festive occasions, of a public disputation in philosophy, of a great procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, of the celebration of the canonization of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier; of the crowds coming to hear some eloquent preacher or of his work in various districts when he would be sent out on some temporary tour of special preaching and devotion. Stories of spiritual edification abound, such as miraculous cures, resounding conversions, saintly deaths. If a Jesuit has died in a certain house or mission a lengthy account of his life and virtues is given in the *anua* of that year.

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[6] Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 14, 33 ff. and 349 ff.

[7] *Ibid.,* 292 ff.

[8] *Memorias,* 671 ff., and *Archiv. Gen. Misiones, tomo* 25, 37 ff.

[9] Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 15, 65 ff.

Of far more historical significance, whether we regard the political advance of the frontier or the cultural advance of the Indians in Christianity and civilization, are those portions of the *anuas* which speak of the affairs of permanent missions, *entre infieles*. Important and numerous portions of the whole history of a frontier can be got from these reports beginning with the *anua* of 1591. While the missionaries were most intent upon the report of their advance from river to river along the west coast, up through the mountains and in the plains to the east, still they include from time to time valuable information concerning the language and customs of the Indians. For instance, the *anua* of 1602 contains a long account of magnificent scientific value on the habits of the Acaxée Indians of Sinaloa, the report being almost certainly from the pen of Father Hernando Santarén who had been working among them for years.[10] The *anua* of 1604 does the same for the Laguneros,[11] and that of 1610 describes the habits of the fierce and cannibalistic Xiximes.[12] These annals make record of thousands of Indians in Sonora baptized within the period of a couple of weeks, of perils of the padres from river flood or mountain cliff, of wars among the savages themselves, of their revolts against the missionaries and the Spaniards and of the reconquests and repressions by Spanish arms. The *anua* of 1609 narrates the events of Captain Hurdaide's defeat at the hands of the Yaqui Indians,[13] and that of 1616 tells the exciting and calamitous details of the famous Tepehuán revolt which gave ten missionary martyrs to the Church besides hundreds of other Spaniards.[14]

One of the Generals of the Jesuits, Father Goswin Nickel, in a letter to the Provincial of New Spain dated from Rome, November 29, 1653, orders that a synopsis of the *anuas* be composed of the reports from 1615 to 1650.[15] He wants a selection made of the more important events and directs that they be well composed in Latin, with brevity, and with the inclusion as far as possible of the names of persons and places. The same direction was given to all the provinces. His orders were carried out to such effect that we have 487 folios or 974 pages of synopsized *anuas* for the years given above, with the indication on the margin of the event narrated. This gives an idea of the vastness of the materials. The events of the missions are here emphasized, as another General, Mutius Vitelleschi, had directed in a letter of October 30, 1640, which he wrote the famous missionary, Andrés Pérez de Ribas, while the latter was Provincial.[16] The survey from 1615 to 1650 is indeed a synopsis, but not always very brief. The *anua* of 1615, for instance, while it contains in its Latin version slightly over ten folios, has for the synopsis seven and a half.[17] As for the *anua* of 1616, concerned at length with the martyrs of the Tepehuán revolt, the synopsis gives seventeen folios to this year, the full *anua* in the Latin version has nineteen folios, while the Spanish fills seventy-two.[18]

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[10] Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 14, 32 ff.

[11] *Ibid.,* 379.

[12] *Ibid.,* 584.

[13] *Ibid.,* 522.

[14] Newberry Library copy, 72 ff.

If we now compare the *anuas* of the province of New Spain with those of the province of France, as seen in the *Jesuit Relations,* edited and translated in seventy-one volumes by Reuben Gold Thwaites, we find that there is a difference. This, first of all, is to be expected. New Spain was a province; Canada was only a mission of the provinces of France. The letters from New France, therefore, as printed in the *Jesuit Relations,* are direct to the Provincial; whereas the reports in the *anuas* from New Spain have, especially in the Latin versions, been copied or synopsized by a Provincial or secretary. *Anuas* are reports of a Province, the *Jesuit Relations* are reports only of a mission. The letters from Canada are often longer and more detailed than letters found in the general *anuas* or even often in the *puntos de cartas anuas,* for they often include minute narratives of a whole chain of events, such as Father Pierre Briard's account to the Jesuit General Aquaviva, dated May 26, 1614, of his initial landing in Acadia and of the events which thereafter took place.[19] But some of the complete *anuas* are equal to or even exceed in length any single piece of the *Jesuit Relations*. Father Paul Le Jeune's letter to the Provincial in France for 1633 takes most of volumes six and seven of the *Jesuit Relations.*

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[15] *Colección de cartas inéditas de los Padres Generales,* Ysleta, Texas.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Archiv. Cent. S. J., Mex. 14, 31-42, and Mex. 15, 350-357.

[18] *Ibid.,* Mex. 15, 360-377 and 44-63; Newberry Library copy, 31-103. Allowance must of course be made for larger or smaller script and for the natural difference in length for the construction of Latin and Spanish, the latter requiring usually more space. There are instances, as in the *anua* of 1646-1647 of the central archives (Mex. 15, 172 ff.) where the turgid Latinity occupies much space in saying very little.

Differing again from the *anuas,* the *Jesuit Relations* contain other letters of a more personal nature, for instance Charles Lalemont's letter to Cardinal Richelieu in volume four and that of Father Sebastian Rusles to his brother, in volume sixty-seven. There are instances, too, in the *Jesuit Relations,* as was often the case in New Spain, where the superior of the missions writing to the Provincial, incorporates a letter written in from lake or forest to himself. Thus in volume twenty-two reporting for the year 1642 Father Barthelemy Vimont writing to Provincial Jean Filleau, incorporates a portion of the letter of Father de Quen. Of course, the missionaries of New Spain wrote numerous personal letters, as may be seen in Dabertzhofer's interesting volume,[20] in Tanner's biography of the martyrs,[21] and in the letters of the Ysleta collection. But these rarely found their way into the *anuas.*

We conclude, therefore, that a great mass of new source material in history has been added to the already rich possessions of the Bancroft Library at the University of California. The growth of a frontier of North America can now be more intimately and more easily traced and whole chapters in the world history of civilization here lie in wait for the industry of the future historian. Dr. Bolton has been piling up mountains of work for those who are still to appear above the horizon of historiography.

PETER M. DUNNE, S. J.

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[19] *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* Cleveland, 1896, III and IV.

[20] Chrysostomo Dabertzhofer, *Drey Newe Relationes,* Augsburg, 1611.

[21] Mathias Tanner: *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitae profusionem militans . . .,* Prague, 1675.

DOCUMENTS

The Diary of James M. Doyle

James M. Doyle was born in Clonegal, County Wexford, Ireland, August 1, 1839, the son of Peter and Ellen McDonnell Doyle. He came to America in 1848 with his parents who took up residence in Chicago. His education had begun in the national schools of Ireland and it was completed in the old Scammon School of Chicago and in the University of St. Mary's of the Lake. After the beginning of the Civil War he enlisted in the 23rd Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, which was known as Mulligan's Brigade. His enlistment was for three years and this he served as a private in Company B, afterwards known as Company A. This Illinois regiment was made up almost entirely of Irishmen from Chicago. In June, 1862, Mulligan led them east for their destination at Annapolis, but an order from Secretary of War Stanton brought them to a halt at Harper's Ferry.[1] They were shifted to New Creek, West Virginia, and detailed to hold the Railroad District.[2] The activity of the 23rd Illinois Infantry was thenceforth confined to the West Virginia and Virginia fronts. In the Appomattox campaign of March and April, 1865, it was the Second Brigade, Independent Division, of the Twenty-Fourth Army Corps.[3]

Private Doyle was appointed clerk in the Quartermaster's Department by order of James A. Mulligan on June 9, 1864, shortly after his division returned from a veterans' furlough, at New Creek. In January of the following year he was made second lieutenant of Company A at Deep Bottom, Virginia, and on

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[1] *The War of Rebellion,* Series I, Vol. XII, Part III, 408. A short account of Colonel Mulligan and his Twenty-third Regiment may be found in John Moses and Joseph Kirkland, *History of Chicago,* Chicago, 1895, I, 183-184. Another account of Mulligan and his "Irish Brigade" is in J. Seymour Currey, *Chicago: Its History and Its Builders,* Chicago, 1912, II, 121-123; this contains his picture. The gallant Colonel died in battle together with almost half his command while opposing an advance of General Early at Kernstown in the Shenandoah valley on July 24, 1864. Mulligan was thirty-four years of age when death found him. Says Currey: "No part of the history of the Civil War has greater interest for the youth of Chicago and Evanston than the career of Colonel Mulligan, and there is no hero of that war whose memory we can cherish more fittingly on our annual Memorial Days."

[2] *The War of Rebellion, loc. cit.,* 425, 428, 619.

[3] *Ibid.,* Series I, Vol. XLVI, 478, 594. Colonel Mulligan was fatally wounded in battle. When he fell, Doyle and others helped to carry him from the field, but were soon given the famous orders by the dying Colonel: "Lay me down, boys, and save the flag."

March 25, 1865, he became captain when the regiment was at Parkersville. His discharge from the service came at Richmond on July 24, 1865. In September he was made brevet major according to a sheepskin document signed by President Andrew Johnson. The rank was to date from March 13, 1865, and was given "For gallant and meritorious services during the campaign of 1864 in the Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, and in the battles before Petersburg, Virginia, in 1865." This was recorded in the Adjutant General's Office on September 20, 1866.[4]

After his discharge from the Army, Mr. Doyle returned to Chicago where he spent the rest of his days. He married Rose Donnelly in 1878. Three of the five children born of the union are residents of Chicago, Eleanor M. Doyle, Ph. D., Julia M. Doyle, and Charles I. Doyle, S. J., Ph. D. The other sons, Leo and James are deceased. Mr. Doyle was occupied in the office of the City Collector. For years he was chief deputy clerk of the Criminal Court. He was justice of the peace by quadrennial appointment of the Governors from 1887 until 1908, during which period he at times held the office of police magistrate until the present municipal court system was established. At the time of the fire in Chicago, he and Thomas F. Judge saved the records of St. Mary's Cathedral, a deed heretofore unrecorded.[5] He was some months over seventy when he died, November 18, 1909.

James M. Doyle kept a diary during his service in the Civil War. The diary was divided and written in pencil in a number of small memorandum books. The books were kept as family treasures with other papers and letters until several years ago when a flooded cellar ruined all but the one section printed below. This section begins with August 1, 1864, covers items of some major engagements, and ends with an entry of December 19. The handwriting in pencil is fading in places. The members of Mr. Doyle's family have consented to its publication and have supplied a handwritten copy and points of information incorporated above. The diary is important to the study of the activity of a group of the Irish people of Chicago during a national crisis.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

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[4] Volume V, 73.

[5] Joseph F. Thompson, "The First Chicago Church Records," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* III (April, 1921), 404, writes: "Strange as it may seem, Father St. Cyr's parish record is still accessible in spite of the fact that every vestige of the Church property connected with the parish which Father St. Cyr established (St. Mary's) was destroyed in the great Chicago fire of 1871."

THE DIARY

August 1st 1864. Birthday. Started this morning at 5 A. M. Marched three miles and camped near Wolfsville, Md.

August 2nd. Tuesday. Remained this day near Wolfsville, Md. Wrote home this day.

August 3rd. Wednesday. Started this day at 3 A. M. and marched through Frederick City to the Monacacy River, a distance of 20 miles before dinner. Walked the whole distance and camped among the Copperheads, killing three of them.

Aug. 4th. Thursday. Remained in camp all day, nothing of importance occurring.

Aug. 5th. Friday. General inspection of all of 1st Division.

Aug. 6th. Saturday. Started at 4 A. M. for Harper's Ferry—raining very hard; rained three hours. It afterwards became very warm. Very sick this day. Marched over 20 miles.

[Several pages follow listing bootees, blankets, canteens, etc., received and issued to infantrymen.]

August 7. Remained in camp in Pleasant Valley all day.

Aug. 8th. Inspection of all the troops of Gen. Crook's command this day. Left camp at 3 P. M. and marched to a camp on the Shenandoah, three miles south of Harper's Ferry, [Va.]. [List of articles received from Lieut. Lannigan.]

Aug. 9th 1864. Remained in camp on the Banks of the Shenandoah this day.

August 10, 1864. Left camp at 5 A. M. for Berryville, [Va.], 20 mile. Boil on my knee. Had to ride in ambulance this P. M. Very warm.

August 11th Thursday. Left camp at 5 A. M. and took the fields east of Winchester Pike, for about 2 miles when the column broke by the right of regts to the rear and marched in this position for 4 miles through woods and fields. Heavy artillery firing in the direction of Winchester all morning. It was now 12 M. and we moved by the left flank for seven or eight miles outflanking the rebels who were obliged to fall back in consequence, but as all our movements this day was through cornfields and woods we were all very tired at night. Poor Brandy [mule?] got played out this day and was left behind.

Aug. 12th. Friday. Started at 7 A. M. through woods and ravines and marched to Cedar Creek where we camped for dinner at 1 P. M. At 2:30 P. M. we started for to take a position. On the way the color bearer of the Hdqrs flag of the 2nd Div. was shot in the leg by a rebel sharpshooter who must have been at least a mile distant. After we got in position Wm. Finucan took about 20 canteens for water with the Mule. After being gone an hour he returned minus Mule, Hat & Canteens, with the report that our lines of skirmishers did not connect, and Co. B with others from the Brigade were sent out to connect. At about 7 P. M. our line drove the rebels a mile and held their position. After dark we were recalled. Company B's loss: 1 Mule, 20 canteens, My Haversack that I paid 2.50 for, and blankets, coats, Coffee Pots, etc., etc.

Saturday, Aug. 13th 1864. Skirmishing this day between 6th and 19th corps and the rebels near Strausburg which is three miles in advance of our 18th Corps position. Recaptured the Mule etc. this day from the 12th Va. Infantry (Union).

Sunday 14th August. Skirmishing to-day with varied success until about 7 P. M. when we drove the rebels and advanced our line over a mile.

Monday 15th August, Feast of the Assumption. Continued skirmishing along our whole front this day. About 3 P. M. the rebels drove our lines and advanced a Battery and threw about a dozen shells into our lines on the extreme right. Our Brigade was ordered out to the left to flank the Battery and capture it but the rebels smelled a rat and quickly withdrew it.

Tuesday 16th August. Our Regiment was sent out on picket this A. M. and remained out until 12 Midnight when we fell back (the balance of the command moving at 8 P. M.) to Winchester where we got again at 8 A. M. on

Wednesday 17 August. We left Winchester at 10 A. M. and marched to Berryville, making over 28 miles that we marched this day and that without rations. All the barns on line of march were burned.

Thursday 18th August. Left camp at Berryville at 6 A. M. and marched 4 miles to meet the train with supplies, then camped and recd 3 days rations which should have been issued on 16th inst. It rained nearly all day.

Friday 19th August. Remained in camp near Berryville this day. Ordered by Capt. Moriarity to be ready to leave for R R to collect Company books and papers belonging to Regt.

Saturday 20th Aug. Received order from Maj. Gen. Crooks to go to Cumberland at 4 P. M. and marching orders at the same time. Marched as far as camp near Charlestown and camped for the night.

Sunday 21st August. Made arrangements this A. M. to start for Harper's Ferry & New Creek and would have started were it not that the whole command were drawn up in line of battle at 12 M. when skirmishing commenced and continued until dark, the command in the meantime building rail fortifications. At 11 P. M. received orders to fall back to Halltown where our forces occupied a ridge from the Potomac to the Shenandoah.

Monday 22 August. Our Regiment was sent out as skirmishers this morning at 8 A. M. and remained out until 8 P. M. of

Tuesday 23 August when we were relieved by the 54th Penn. Jas. Moore, Co. A attached to B Co., was wounded the 23rd in both thighs. The Reg't lost those two days four men wounded. [List of articles received.] During the 22nd and 23rd the command was engaged in building breastworks. The P. M. of the 22nd a brigade on the left charged the rebels and drove them over half a mile.

Wednesday 24th August. Started at 12 M. for Harper's Ferry and reached there half an hour after the train left for Balt. Got an order for transportation from Jack Stevenson from H. Ferry to Baltimore and then went to see Wat Mc—— and Jas. Moore at the Sandy Hook Hospital. Found both of them doing very well.

[The diary for the following days has brief jottings on Doyle's trip. He left Harper's Ferry on August 25, and arrived in Baltimore in the evening. He went from Baltimore to Harrisburg, then to Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Cumberland, New Creek, Cumberland, New Creek, Wheeling, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Baltimore, Harper's Ferry. No reason is given for the trip, but supplies and a straggler's regiment are mentioned.]

Saturday 17th Sept. Left Harper's Ferry this day at 8 A. M. for Summit Point and the Regiment.

Sunday 18th Sept. Remained in camp at Summit Point this day. At 5 P. M. received orders to move but went into camp again.

Monday 19th September. Moved at 5 A. M. in the direction of Winchester along the H. T. & W. R. R., striking the Pike bet. Winchester and Berryville at 11 A. M. when we halted for dinner. At 12 M. we moved out on the Pike in direction of Winchester. Heavy firing to the right and front all morning. At 2 P. M. our Brigade was advanced through the woods to the front over the ground where the 19th Corps fought in the morning. Our Co. was thrown out as skirmishers and in ten minutes the front of the line of battle was ch'g'd by a left wheel and the two divisions of Crook's Corps and the two of the 19th Corps led by Genl.

Sheridan in person charged the rebels driving them through and beyond Winchester, capturing 5000 prisoners and several guns. Loss in killed and wounded very heavy on both sides. Our own Regiment lost 4 men killed and eighteen wounded and assisted in the capture of 2 Rebel cannons. M. Carney of B slightly wounded in foot.

Tuesday 20th September. Followed up this day to Cedar Creek. Citizens on road report the rebels demoralized and retreating in haste. At 7 P. M. changed position from right to left of the Pike. Ordered to keep very quiet and no fires to be built.

Wednesday 21st Sept. Remained in the woods all day, our corps being concealed for reasons which will be made known hereafter. At 8 P. M. received orders to move and done so to West side of Pike and advanced about two miles to the right on Pike, where we went into camp for the night.

Thursday 22nd Sept. 1864. The following is Genl. Sheridan's report of this day's operations sent to Genl. Grant at 11:30 P. M. "Sir, I have the honor to report that I achieved a most signal victory over Early at Fisher's Hill today. After a deal of manuevering during the day Crook's Com'd was sent to the extreme right of the line on North Mt. and he furiously attacked the left of the enemy's line, carrying everything before him. While Crook was driving the enemy in great confusion & sweeping down behind his breastworks, the 6th and 19th corps attacked the works in front and the whole Rebel Army appeared to be broken up, flying in the utmost confusion. We captured 16 pcs arty and a great many Cassions, horses, etc. I can't say how many prisoners, Flags, etc., is captured, but darkness only saved the whole of Early's Army from destruction." John Creed of D Co. captured a rebel flag, also one of 10th & 11th Va. Of our own Brig. Jas. Ryan & M. Kelly wounded. Splendid charge of myself Sergt O'Herrin & twelve of the I. B. on a battery. Every man of the whole command went [word obscure] on his own hook to-day.

Friday 23rd Sept. 1864. This morning the command is scattered yet. At daylight the part of our Brig. with which I was started back toward Strausburg went about one mile and halted, when the balance of the command coming up it was there halted and we gathered together our glorious little I. B., details sent for K. S. H. S. etc. Beef issued and about 10 A. M. we started for Woodstock [Va.] where four days rations were issued and we camped for the night.

The Cavalry 6th and 19th Corps continued on this day and sent back about 1000 prisoners which had been captured by them and several pieces of artillery. On the pike as we came along today we found the ruins of several rebel wagons which had to be burned by them in their skedaddle, also numbers of small arms, accoutrements, etc.

Saturday 24th September. Started from Woodstock at 6 A. M. and marched to New Market where we arrived at 6 P. M. and went into camp. Today an occasional arty shot is heard to hasten the retreat of the rebels. Passed several good positions that the rebs might have availed themselves of if not utterly demoralized. Everything tends to show that Early's Army is used up, he having lost within the last six days more than one half of his army, while the balance is nothing but an armed mob.

Sunday 25th Sept. 1864. This day we left New Market at 7 A. M. and marched to Harrisonburg where we went into camp at 6 P. M. Several Union prisoners in hospital here were released to-day.

[The next week was spent in camp at Harrisonburg.]

Sunday Oct. 2nd 1864. Wagon trains came up this A. M. bringing me three letters from home. Went through Company inspection. Cannonading heard in a southerly direction.

At 2 P. M. ordered to fall in with muskets and accoutrements and haversacks & canteens. Remained in line over an hour and then went into camp again. This move was occasioned by the firing in front near Dayton, [Va.] where the rebels attacked our forage train but were driven off by our Cavalry capturing 200 Rebels.

Monday Oct. 3rd. Received orders to move at 5 A. M. And [words obscure] in readiness [words obscure] until 1 P. M. when we were ordered to go into camp again.

Tuesday 4th Oct. 1864. Moved camp today and commenced drill. [Words obscure.] Dress parade [words obscure] camp.

Wednesday 5th Oct. 1864. Drill & Dress Parade today in camp. 10 P. M. received order to move at 5 A. M. tomorrow.

Thursday 6th Oct. 1864. Left camp south of Harrisonburg at 6 A. M. and marched to near Mt. Jackson without stopping for dinner. Distance 26 miles. 6th and 19th Corps in advance of ours met a train of 800 wagons at Mt. Jackson and issued three days rations.

Friday 7th Oct. 1864. Started at 7 A. M. and marched to near Woodstock without stopping for dinner. We were part of a guard of over twenty miles of Wagon train. Part of our forces crossed this morning into the [word obscure] Valley. Distance today 17 miles.

Saturday October 8, 1864. Left camp near Woodstock at 7 A. M. this morning and stopped for dinner at Signal Hill. Then moved down to rebel works on Fisher's Hill and went into camp for the night, which was very windy and cold. This day we had hail, rain & snow. The Rebel Cavalry charged our Rear guard through Woodstock about 3 P. M. Sharp Cav. skirmishing and cannonading until dark.

Sunday October 9th 1864. Early this morning skirmishing commenced between Two Divsns of Rebel Cav. & Mtd Infty and our Cav. About 9 A. M. our cavalry charged the rebels through Woodstock and to New Market driving them Pell Mell before them and capturing eleven of their twelve pieces of artillery, a wagon train & ambulance and several hundred prisoners. At 2 P. M. our Brigade moved out to about 3 miles beyond Signal Hill and at dark returned to Signal Hill. Our Regiment being sent out on picket. Very heavy frost tonight.

Monday Oct. 10th 1864. Remained on picket all this day and until 5 A. M. on

Tuesday Oct. 11th 1864 when Crooks corps moved back to Cedar Creek, the 6th and 19th corps having gone toward Winchester yesterday.

Wednesday Oct. 12th 1864. Remained in camp near Cedar Creek this day & commenced drill & Dress Parade. Wrote home today and also got two letters from home. Capt. Wallace, Lt. Fletcher & M. Girr returned to Battalion on last night. Weather very cold and disagreeable for this season of the year.

Thursday Oct. 13th. At about 1:30 P. M. a rebel Battery south of Cedar Creek opened and commenced throwing shells into the camp of our Brigade which was formed in line in a few minutes when it moved to the right about one-fourth of a mile. When our Batt[alion] was ordered to report at Hdqrs of Genl. Sheridan from whence we were sent to guard a herd of cattle in the rear.

Thursday Oct. 13th 1864. At 10 P. M. received orders to proceed to Martinsburg with the cattle and herd them until further orders and started immediately, reaching Winchester at 3 A. M. Oct. 14th. Just after leaving the Brigade, it and the 1st of Division became hotly engaged with the enemy, losing several killed & wounded. Heavy firing along the line until dark.

Friday Oct. 14th 1864. Started with herd of cattle from

Winchester at 7 A. M. and came to Daskesville where we halted for dinner and then proceeded to Martinsburg reaching there at 6 P. M. after marching 38 miles in 19½ hours, Mosby on our track all this day but afraid to attack us.

Saturday, Oct. 15th. Co B detailed to guard herd today. nothing reliable from the front of Sheridan's army which is still at Cedar Creek confronting the enemy. Large train escorted by the 2nd Brigade left for the front to-day.

Sunday, Oct. 16th 1864. Remained in camp near Martinsburg today. Wrote home.

Monday Oct. 17th 1864. Cos B, F, & G detailed to guard herd to Wmsport and perhaps to Penn. I remained behind to work on the Company records. Received clothing from Lt. Quirk for det'ch't of Co B left behind.

Tuesday Oct. 18th 1864. Awaked this A. M. at 4 oclock by revielle and found all of the Batt. present were ordered to escort train to front at 6 A. M. and moved out accordingly. Genl. Sheridan and escort passed us two miles out from Martinsburg on his way to the front. Got to Winchester at 7 P. M. and camped for the night.

Wednesday Oct 19th 1864. Awakened this A. M. before daylight by heavy firing in the direction of Cedar Creek. At 7 A. M. train started out escorted by 2nd Brigade. Shortly after Genl. Sheridan and escort passed to the front and ordered train back to camp. There is evidently a heavy battle in progress. Stragglers are beginning to arrive now at 10 A. M. and report a surprise to our Division before daybreak & capture of our artillery and the arms stacked in rear of breastworks and a great number of prisoners. All the trains in this vicinity ready to move. Later reports show that after Crook's corps were driven, the 6th and 19th Corps extended their lines and after a hard fought battle regained in the P. M. all the ground lost in the A. M., recapturing our artillery & capturing many prisoners, some reports setting the number as high as 7000. Later & fuller reports show that Sheridan captured today over 3000 prisoners and 57 pieces of arty., 297 wagons & a large train of ambulances in this days engagement. Bully for Sheridan Hurrah for Sheridan God bless Sheridan And may it be ever thus with him.

Thursday Oct. 20th 1864. At 1 P. M. started for the front as escort to 1st Div., train arriving there at 8 P. M. Newtown and Middletown as we passed through we found were filled with the wounded of both armies. Capt. A. J. McGonigle, Act. Chf. q. m.

on Sheridan's Staff was severely wounded and Col. Shoburn killed in yesterdays fight.

Friday Oct. 21st. In camp at Cedar Creek.

Saturday Oct. 22nd. In camp at Cedar Creek. Cos B & F rejoined the Battalion.

Sunday 23rd Oct. 1864. Went on picket and remained out 2 days then went into camp near picket lines where we remained until 31st, Capt. Simison receiving his commission as Lt. Col. in the meantime.

October 31st 1864. 3rd Brigade went on reconnaisance as far as Woodstock today. No sign of the enemy except a few guerillas who followed up on our return to camp where we arrived at 7 P. M. We have been expecting the paymaster for some days back.

Nov. 1st to 9th 1864. Remained in camp at Cedar Creek during this time. On the 8th some of the soldiers voted for President of U. S. all passing off quietly.

Nov. 10th 1864. The army moved back to-day to near Kearnstown and went into camp.

Nov. 11th, 12th, & 13th 1864. In camp near Kearnstown.

Nov. 14th. Received orders from Div. Hdqrs to report to Capt. J. Ames A. Q. M. for duty.

Nov. 15th to 24 1864. On duty in Q. M. Dept. near Kearnstown Va. during this time.

Nov. 25th 1864. Thanksgiving, plenty of poultry. Capt. Ames roasted turkeys on spit.

Nov. 26th to Dec. 18th 1864. Still in camp near Kearnstown, Va. On the P. M. of Dec 18th Division recd orders to move on the morning of 19th to Wash. and report to Maj. Genl. Halleck, Chf. of Staff.

Dec. 19th 1864. Division left for Wash. City today taking cars at Stevensons Depot. Capt. Ames recd orders to remain behind in charge of transportation of Div. Transportation moved to Depot tonight and ordered to remain there and await orders.

[On the discharge papers appears a list of engagements in which James Doyle participated as a member of the 23rd Illinois Volunteer Infantry from June 1, 1864, when it returned from veteran furlough until the surrender of Lee.]

Dec. 29th '64, joined Army of James in front of Richmond.

Jan. '65 to March 25 in defences of Bermuda 100. In March Lt. Col. Simison returned to Illinois to have Regt. filled, leaving Capt. P. M. Ryan in command.

On March 31st & April 1st at Hatchers Run, April 2nd assault & capture of Fort Gregg in front of Petersburg.

April [6 or 7] High Bridge.

April 9th Surrender of Lee.

Notes and Comment

AN ASTRONOMICAL EXPEDITION TO LOWER CALIFORNIA: THE TRANSIT OF VENUS OF 1769

Before astronomers found better means, the most accurate method for determining the distance from the earth to the sun and the sun's parallax was the observation of the transits of the two inferior planets, Mercury and Venus, over the solar disk. These phenomena, especially the central transits, are few, and were previously eagerly expected by astronomers the world over. The transits of Mercury at the same node are rare. The last one occurred May 10, 1937. The transits of Venus, due to the inclination of its orbit and the apparent radius of the sun, are rarer still; the next one is due to occur June 8, 2004. The earliest transit of Venus was observed by two persons only, Horrocks and Crabtree, in England, November 24, 1769, O. S. Since then four other transits have occurred, in June, 1761 and 1769, and in December, 1874 and 1882; for transits come in pairs at present and have been doing so for several centuries; but, astronomers teach, after a time this will cease to be true and transits will become solitary for a long period. The transits of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were extensively observed by scientific expeditions sent out by the different governments to all parts of the world where they were visible. The transits of 1769 and 1882 were visible in the United States. One of the best locations for observation of that of 1769 was Lower California, then Spanish dominion, whither the government determined to send astronomers. The scientists who were to make the observations were already chosen in 1766. The leader of the expedition was to be Father Roger Joseph Boscovich, a Dalmatian-born Jesuit, internationally known among astronomers. Another Jesuit whose name is not given, was to be his companion. The special permission to proceed to California had been granted by the King of Spain in the summer of 1766, for Boscovich was not a Spanish subject. Everybody knows what took place the following year, 1767. Charles III expelled all Jesuits from his lands.

Scientists were wondering whether His Catholic Majesty would allow a Jesuit to re-enter his dominions. Among astronomers, James Douglas, Earl of Morton, then president of the Royal Society of London, wanted to know well ahead of time what the decision of Charles III was to be. For the year past, he had taken an active part in the preparations to observe the transit of Venus in 1769, and he had resolved that, if it depended on him, the "several circumstances which conspired to make the observations of the transit of Venus of 1761 unsatisfactory" would not occur again. Under his impulse, as early as

June, 1766, the Council of the Royal Society "resolved on using the most active exertions to engage competent observers." A petition for a subsidy of 4,000 pounds was sent to the King, since the budget of the Society was in no condition to defray the expense of the several English expeditions to Spitzbergen, to Fort Churchill, Hudson Bay, and to "any place not exceeding 30 degrees of Southern latitude, and between the 140th and 180th of longitude west" of Greenwich. The petition emphasized the necessity of observing accurately the phenomenon in proper places, for the observations would "contribute greatly to the improvement of Astronomy, on which Navigation so much depends."

National pride was also played upon to determine George III to grant the desired subsidy. The petition states that "the British nation has been justly celebrated in the learned world for their knowledge of Astronomy in which they are inferior to no nation upon earth, ancient or modern; and it would cast dishonor upon them should they neglect to have correct observations made of this important phenomenon." The subsidy was granted (C. R. Weld, *A History of the Royal Society,* London, 1848, II, 32 pp.).

Interested as Morton was, it can easily be understood why he wanted to know what the Spanish Court would decide about Father Boscovich. The Jesuit had acquired European fame by "a number of excellent astronomical and mathematical dissertations. In 1750, assisted by his brother Jesuit, Father [Christopher] Maire, he conducted the measurement of a degree in the ecclesiastical State. And through his influence with the ministers of other courts, it is said that he procured to be made similar measurements, by Liesganing in Austria and Hungary, by Becaria in Piedmont, and even by Mason and Dixon in America" (*The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,* London, 1809, XI, 500, note. Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus,* I, col. 1828-1829). Father Boscovich's scientific achievements had earned for him the coveted honor of being elected a fellow of the London Royal Society. (See the preface, IX, to the English translation of Boscovich's book *Theoria Philosophiae Naturalis,* Chicago, 1922). He was then well-known to Morton. The Englishman, it appears, had no great respect for the Spanish astronomers of that time. If, as was most probable, Boscovich refused to go to a country whence his brethren had been expelled because they were Jesuits, perhaps English astronomers might be allowed by the Spanish Court to proceed to California and observe the transit. Consequently six weeks after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain and the Spanish dominions, Morton wrote to Prince Masserano, the Spanish ambassador in London:

> The letter with which Your Excellency honored me last summer notified me that, by the gracious permission of His Catholic Majesty, Father

Boscovich and a companion, Jesuit also, had been allowed to go to California to observe the transit of Venus which will take place June 3, 1769. This phenomenon will not occur again for more than one hundred years. Your Excellency added that these two observers would go to California on a Spanish ship and that it was the intention of His Catholic Majesty to have the two Jesuits accompanied by a few of his subjects as members of the expedition to help in the observations to be made.

But after the decision taken by your Court with regard to the Jesuits, I consider the voyage of Father Boscovich impracticable; for, even if His Catholic Majesty were kind enough to grant leave to this particular Father, I doubt whether the General of his Order would consent to let him go, and even supposing that he would, I have reasons to believe that, in the present circumstances, Father Boscovich himself would not agree to undertake the journey.

In view of this, I beg Your Excellency kindly to ask your sovereign whether he would deign to allow two of our astronomers, delegated by the Royal Society, and each one accompanied by an English or foreign servant, to go to California to make this important, and, in a way, unique observation.

Since the intention of His Catholic Majesty was that the astronomers should travel under the Spanish flag and since some Spaniards were to accompany the scientists, Morton asked the ambassador to be informed on several important points. First, will the King of Spain pay for the foreigners' passage from Cádiz to where the observations are to be made? Second, is there in Lower California some town or village where workmen sufficiently skilled to build an "observatory" can be found? Or might not a town or village with the same facilities be found ten, twelve, or fifteen degrees farther north? (Roughly, in modern terms: in Gilah Country, in the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona, and in Grand County, Utah, respectively.) Are there soldiers in these places to protect the astronomers from molestation by the natives? Will the astronomers to be sent by His Catholic Majesty have their own instruments? It would be of the greatest usefulness, Morton explained, if they had a set of instruments of their own, so as to enable different persons at the same place to observe the transit, and since the most accurate astronomical instruments are made in London, should His Catholic Majesty give the necessary orders they could be constructed for 137 guineas. Finally, it is essential to know if, in June, the weather is fair or rainy toward the tip of Lower California, and also the prevalent weather at that time of the year, ten or twelve degrees farther north. The president of the Royal Society ends his letter saying: "The coming phenomenon will furnish the best means to determine with accuracy the parallax of the sun, and thus it is extremely important, both for astronomy and for navigation, that it be exactly observed. I have the honor to be with the deepest respect, Prince, of Your Excellency, the most humble and most obedient servant. (Signed) Morton, Brook Str. May 17, 1767." (Archivo General de

Indias, Seville, *Audiencia de Guadalajara, Expedientes Diarios,* Annos 1766 A 1733, 104-1-7, n. 6; transcript in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.)

The Spanish ambassador in London forwarded Morton's letter to Madrid. It was handed to the Council July 9, and, as it was written in French, they sent it to the translators. Four days later a provisional answer was sent to Masserano, telling him to wait for the King's decision, and notifying him that instruments had already been bought for the Spaniards to be appointed for the expedition. When the translated letter was returned to the Council, the Fiscal of Castille was far from pleased with Masserano and Morton. It was perfectly clear, he argued, what the English are after. They have been anxiously casting about for some pretext to gratify their long standing desire to gain admittance in His Majesty's dominions in America.

They want to draw plans of the bays and ports, to inspect presidios and fortresses, with the view of making use of the knowledge thus acquired as soon as there is a war between their country and Spain. In brief, under the plea of a scientific expedition, they want to send spies to Mexico. And in time of peace, all they have in mind is to promote illicit commerce between their country and the colonies to the detriment of the state, of the royal treasury, and of the colonists themselves.

What is amazing enough, continues the Fiscal, is that the Prince of Masserano did not immediately reject a proposal against which there are so many laws, cédulas, and ordinances, which have been issued ever since the discovery of America. These regulations absolutely forbid foreigners to go to the colonies, because all that can be expected from them is disturbance of the peace, peril for religion, and corruption of the morals of the people. Masserano must have lost sight of those laws; and the Fiscal magnanimously excuses this slip of the ambassador. But a greater cause of amazement is that the letter of Morton should have been as much as forwarded to Madrid, since it contains the following passage: "The General of the Society [of Jesus] would not grant permission to Father Boscovich to go to California, even if His Majesty were not to object to the astronomer using the leave he formerly granted." Did not Masserano realize how improper such statements were in the present circumstances? "At the same time, that letter is gravely injurious to the Spanish nation, for it supposes that there are no astronomers in Spain, whereas there is no lack of good mathematicians who can make the observations as well as the English."

There are workmen, carpenters and smiths, and good ones too, in the south of Lower California, as well as in the north. The Fiscal's proof consists in the list of the Jesuit missions, singling out Loreto and San Ignacio, and those founded in 1719 and the following years by Fathers Guillén and Ugarte. The government does not intend to deprive the colonists of an occasion of making some money. All that is necessary for the expedition which can be made in California will be made there, and the astronomical instruments will be constructed in Spain. Hence no permission will be given to the English astronomers. Masserano might just as well tell Morton that such a leave will never be granted. Moreover, the viceroy of Mexico must be warned and reminded of the ordinances forbidding the admission of foreigners in the dominions of His Majesty; there is always danger that some may even try to smuggle themselves in; a closer watch than ever must be exercised over the ports and bays of New Spain. My Lord Morton must also be told that good astronomers and mathematicians are not lacking in Spain. If it is useful for the commonwealth, and if thereby some honor may accrue to the nation, His Majesty will give the necessary orders that two or three Spaniards be sent to California to observe the transit of the planet. These scientists will be supplied with the instruments and all that is necessary for the expedition (Archivo General de Indias, *ut supra*).

It does not seem that Morton had so grievously offended the Spanish nation by proposing that English astronomers be sent to California instead of Father Boscovich, for, when the time came, the head of the expedition was not a Spaniard but a Frenchman, who was accompanied by three of his compatriots, Pauly, an engineer and a geographer, Noel, the draughtsman, and Dubois, a watchmaker to repair the instruments. Two Spanish naval officers "and astronomers to His Catholic Majesty" (*A Voyage to California,* 8), Don Salvador de Medina and Don Vizente Doz (AGI, Seville, *Aud. Guadalajara,* 1768-1772, 104-3-3, Croix to Arriaga), with a few servants were designated by Charles III to make up the rest of the expedition.

The French astronomer was Abbé Jean Chappe d'Auteroche, whose relation of his voyage to California was posthumously published in Paris in 1772 by Cassini. An English translation and adaptation was issued in London in 1778. How Chappe happened to be chosen in the place of Father Boscovich has not been fully ascertained. The abbé was a prominent astronomer and a trained observer. At the time of the previous transit of Venus, in 1761, the Academy of Sciences of Paris, of which he was a member, had selected him to go to Tobolsk, Siberia, to observe the phenomenon. It must also be remembered that the Court of Spain and that of France were at this time on excellent terms. Their common opposition to the Jesuits had tightened the bonds that united the two governments. It was a good will gesture on the part of Charles III to have a French abbé take the place of a Dalmatian Jesuit. In the light of what the Fiscal of Castille said, it was also a mark of trust on the part of the Spaniards; they felt that the Frenchman would not be a spy let loose in His Majesty's dominions. To forestall all controversy on his return he was told to attend to the object of his mission, to make his astronomical observations, and to meddle with nothing else (cf. *Correspondance du Marquis de Croix,* Nantes, 1891, 259). The Spanish government was aware of the stir created by the book Chappe published after his return from Siberia, and it told him to refrain from saying about Mexico what he had said about Russia.

Chappe left Paris with his three helpers September 18, 1768, and arrived in Cádiz, October 17. There he got in touch with Spanish suspicion and red tape. He was told on landing that the permission to go to California did not include Pauly, the helper on whom he relied most. It needed the direct intervention of the French ambassador in Madrid to overcome this difficulty. The French astronomer was beginning to fear that the proverbial dilatoriness of the Spaniards would prevent his arrival in Lower California in time for the transit.

They finally set sail, and after a crossing lasting seventy-seven days, the party landed at Vera Cruz, March 6, 1769. It was still three months before the transit would occur, but they were still far from the mission village of San José del Cabo in Lower California. A week after landing in Vera Cruz, they departed for Mexico City, where they arrived on Easter Sunday, March 26. "We were conducted to the house of the Jesuits, where a lodging was prepared for us. We had no sooner alighted there, but four gentlemen came to conduct us to the palace. I am at a loss for words to express the friendship and politeness shown us by the Marquis de Croix, Viceroy of Mexico, and by his whole court. He left nothing undone to procure us whatever we wished for, and to make our stay at Mexico agreeable to us. We had no table but his own for the four days we continued in the town . . ." (*A Voyage to California,* 39-40). On March 30, they left Mexico City for San Blas. After four days in this port, they sailed, April 19, and reached San José del Cabo, their destination, one month later.

A dismal sight greeted the expedition when it landed. An epidemic was raging that had already wiped out of existence one-third of the inhabitants of the little village. San Lucas, farther south, was said to be safe, but Chappe was apprehensive lest by moving at this late date he miss the transit or make an imperfect observation. To the suggestion of the two Spanish naval officers, he declared that he would not stir from San José. Preparations were feverishly pushed, and by May 31, Chappe was ready. (Velaz to Croix, July 28, 1769. This and the other letters of Velaz to Croix, and Croix to Velaz, quoted below, are found in a sheaf of documents entitled Copia Literal del documento que obra en el Deposito Hidrographico de Madrid, Libro C. 3^{a}.—Tomo I—Californias y Costas NO de America, "Correspondencia entre el Ex^{mo} S^{or} Marques de Croix y D^{n} Joaquin Velasquez de Leon hallandose este en el R^{l} de S^{ta} Ana de California con motivo de la muerte de M^{r} Chappe y de lo ocurrido a los sugetos que pasaron a hacer la observacion del paso de Venus por el disco Solar en las California en el año 769 &^{a}.", transcript in the Bancroft Library. Cf. also *A Voyage to*

California, 63-65; *The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,* XIII, 92.) That day Chappe wrote a letter of thanks to Galvez (Chappe to Galvez, May 31, 1769, Galvez Papers, n. 590, in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, cf. Galvez to Croix, July 13, 1769, *ibid.,* n. 505, and Croix to Galvez, September 12, 1769, *ibid.,* n. 429), for help he received from a commissary given by the visitador to take care of members of the expedition as much as circumstances permitted (Velaz to Croix, July 28, 1769, Copia Literal, etc.).

Ideal weather prevailed on June 3, and Chappe was overjoyed by his observation of the transit. But his happiness was soon dampened by the sequel. Two days after the transit, the two Spanish scientists, and all of their retinue, eleven attendants, workmen or servants, caught the disease on the same day (Velaz to Croix, July 28, 1769, in Copia Literal, etc., *A Voyage to California,* 65). Two of Chappe's three companions were near death, and the third very ill. The astronomer was the only one of the expedition immune from the plague. There was a medicine chest and some medical books in his baggage, and the abbé turned doctor and nurse. He examined the symptoms of the disease, consulted his books, and "endeavored to find the proper remedies." Then he himself caught the disease. He again consulted his books, but finding that what was said by one was contradicted by the other, he discarded the books and determined on trying purgatives. Two doses of physic made him well enough to observe the eclipse of the moon of June 19 (Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse,* Vienna, 1887, 371), but while at the eye-piece of his telescope, he was taken with a fainting spell. The time-honored remedy, bleeding, was resorted to, but to no avail. In the village of San José, three-fourths of the population had died, and the rest had fled in terror. Chappe lingered on for six weeks and died August 1 of *ptisi pulmonaria,* wrote Velaz to Croix, caused by an intermittent fever and the great fatigue resulting from his devotedness in the fulfillment of his duties. Before his death, he asked that he be buried clad in the Franciscan habit. The last rites were performed by Doz and Medina, for the missionary of San José had long ago succumbed to the disease (Velaz to Croix, July 28 and September 28, 1769, in Copia Literal, etc., *A Voyage to California,* 70).

It was a bedraggled group that left San José for Real de Santa Ana, where they arrived at the end of September. Some were still ill, others were convalescing, and all were anxious to leave as soon as possible. The epidemic had abated at San José and at San Lucas, but it was still raging at San Ignacio and at Todos Santos. No one caught the disease at Real de Santa Ana "except those who have had to pass through the infected villages, but they did not die of it, nor did they spread it to others. Although there are many sick persons among the rest of the population, they only have a benign fever which is called *Sarampion,* and which is easily cured" (Velaz to Croix, September 28, 1769, in Copia Literal, etc.).

The casualties were as follows: Doz and Medina recovered from the disease, but the latter died in San Blas on his way back to Mexico. Eight of the eleven Spanish attendants had died. Dubois, Chappe's watchmaker, died in Santa Ana. Of the seventeen members of the expedition, only six survived, the three Spanish servants, Noel, the French draughtsman, Pauly, the geographer, and Doz. The latter reached Madrid in the latter part of 1770. He presented to the King an account of his observations, which was forwarded to Masserano. The ambassador in turn communicated it to the Royal Society in London (*The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London,* XIII, 91). Pauly went to Paris, and deposited at the Royal Observatory the journals and manuscripts of the late Abbé Chappe (*Ibid.,* 92). Chappe had made Pauly his executor. The geographer had sold to Velaz, the commandant in Santa Ana, all the books and instruments taken on the expedition considering them the personal property of the astronomer. These, however, as we learn from a letter of Croix to Velaz, belonged to the Paris Academy of Sciences, and this body had written to the Viceroy demanding they be returned. Croix ordered Velaz to pack up the books and instruments, to send them to Guadalajara, whence they were to be shipped to Europe (Croix to Velaz, December 12, 1770, in Copia Literal, etc.).

JEAN DELANGLEZ

EARLY MAPS OF THE VALLEY

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics for July, 1938, published a thesis submitted to the University of Chicago for the M. A. degree, entitled "The Relation of Historic Indian Tribes to Archeological Manifestations in Iowa," by Miss Mildred Mott. As indicated by the title, the purpose of this essay is to link pre-history with history. A remarkable use is made of manuscript and printed maps to establish the connection intended by the author. Miss Mott was aware of the small degree of reliability of the extensive cartographical evidence she consulted. She writes: "Seldom had the cartographer himself been in North America, and unfortunately a map does not give its sources beyond a general statement that may appear in the legend." This assertion is not quite accurate, and a few words might perhaps be said about it by way of comment. Miss Mott who is primarily interested in archeology does not seem to have consulted the manuscript evidence that explains many of the maps she used so skillfully and with such gratifying results. The map itself may not give the sources, but often the papers, rough sketches, and notes of the cartographer do. This is especially true of Delisle. He was indefatigable in copying journals, relations, and letters, culling from each data of interest to a geographer. These copies are now among his papers, and the sources of his maps can be ascertained. The sources of the maps of Jolliet, Marquette, Lemaire, and Franquelin, can also be ascertained, although less fully than in the case of Delisle. The first two went over the greatest part of the region described in their maps and relations. Lemaire remained on the Gulf Coast, but received information from travelers who had been up the Mississippi. Franquelin surveyed the Lower St. Lawrence and the New England Coast, but, for his maps of the Mississippi Valley until 1675, he got his data from Jolliet and La Salle. It would be unreasonable to expect the writer to have protracted her work by going back to the sources used for drafting those maps, for her essay is primarily concerned with archeology. The above comments are made only to indicate what should be done for the cartography and the progress of geographical knowledge of the Valley.

Miss Mott calls attention to another difficulty which she encountered. The student wishing to use the numerous manuscript maps of the Mississippi Valley, now much more easily consulted thanks to the photostats of the Karpinski collection, is forced to evaluate for himself the maps he is using, since "there is practically no critical analysis of seventeenth and eighteenth century cartography that depicts the Mississippi River region." Winsor in *Cartier to Frontenac* showed the way more than forty years ago; and Karpinski laid the foundation for a critical study of the cartography of the Great Lakes Region; but it is evident that much remains to be done especially when one wishes to descend to details for a definite area. The enormous amount of thankless labor which a detailed critical study of the cartography of the Mississippi Valley during the seventeenth and eighteenth century would entail, is perhaps the main reason which has deterred historians and geographers from undertaking the task. A beginning has been made for the Missouri Valley by Father R. H. Hamilton, but only the conclusions of this study were published (*American Historical Review,* XXXIX, 1934, 645-662). The article of Miss Reed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* II, 1915-1916, 213-224, is restricted to printed maps. The added critical comments are taken mostly from Winsor.

A valuable feature of Miss Mott's thesis is the chronological list of manuscript and printed maps given in the appendix. Thirteen seventeenth-century, seventy-three eighteenth-century, and twelve nineteenth-century maps are thus given with title, date, author, and the call number of the map when it happens to be a photostat of a manuscript map in the Paris archives. A few words are also added with regard to the progress made in the geographical knowledge of Iowa from one map to another, as well as the relation of subsequent maps to preceding ones.

J. D.

Book Reviews

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. Edited by Paul J. Foik, C. S. C. Volume III, *The Mission Era: The Missions at Work, 1731-1761.* By Carlos E. Castañeda. Austin, Texas, Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1938. Pp. 474. $5.

The half-way mark in the progress of a great project is approached with the completion of the present publication. This, the third of the seven-volume work, carries the story of the development of the area of Texas, as it was known in colonial times, down to the year 1761, thirty years beyond the stopping point of its predecessor. Dr. Castañeda maintains the even and interesting style of his previous books, and the publishers continue to set up his narrative in pleasing form. The three books on the shelf now loom as a satisfying achievement. It is quite a pity that the sponsors of this notable enterprise have not quite met with the whole-hearted response they deserve, in particular with a ready and large sale, and that they should have to worry at all about the ultimate returns. Persons who purchase this set on Texas history have no reason to suppose themselves in some fashion, donors to a cause; they are not; the volumes are worth the price; they were written to be read and they are readably written.

It was a good move on the part of the author to survey the missionary field and the workers in the opening pages and especially to incorporate a description of the great Franciscan missionary colleges of the Holy Cross of Querétaro, Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas, and San Fernando of Mexico. From these moved the friars regularly to the evangelization of the frontiers of Old Mexico. The handicaps under which the religious labored are portrayed in a separate chapter in detail, but they run through the entire book with changing names and places. They were in the main the ever hostile Apaches and unenlightened government officials. The former, like the Iroquois of the northern lands, were perpetually attempting by raids to destroy colony and mission, and with considerable success. Officialdom, working in a high-handed manner toward the control of all things, did much to disrupt the nascent foundation and to stop the movement toward occupation of Texas. Governor Carlos Franquis de Lugo is an example of overbearing officialdom, who, single-handed, practically ruined the mission establishment before his misdeeds overtook him. Other drawbacks were smallpox, lack of food, inadequate funds and military protection, poor shelter, and distance from a source of supplies. Patient labor was required to stay at the task of building, moving sites, and rebuilding, but out of the many hardships and martyrdoms a pattern of civilization gradually shaped itself.

The history of the thirty years of growth in Texas as Dr. Castañeda brings it together is remarkably full of color and detail. Apaches, Comanches, Spanish soldiers, governors, friars, colonists, French traders, and soldiers, make for great human interest. Pioneers were at work and in constant conflict. The borderland conflicts between Indian and newcomer, and between Frenchman and Spaniard developed from complex desires for empire, for pelf, for souls. The life and death struggle was basic to the settlement and development of Texas.

The author looks upon the missionaries as of first importance and the Spanish officials as second. Again, in the affairs of the border conflict between French and Spanish, his viewpoint is taken from the documentary evidence of the Spanish officials and friars. His bibliography of source materials from the Spanish archives is indeed excellent and ample. The absence of the French evidence inclines to make the presentation in its international aspects somewhat one-sided. This does not make much difference to the general story, but it gives the wrong color to the particularly romantic incident of the elopement of Victoria, the little Spanish girl, with d'Herbanne, the French soldier of Natchitoches (p. 82-83). The thirteen-year-old daughter of González, commandant at Los Adaes, made a well-planned escape with the forty-year-old d'Herbanne by canoe on Sunday, April 8, 1736. According to the Spanish accounts followed, the Jesuit father at Natchitoches officiated at the marriage that same evening, and thus acted contrary to all regulations in performing the first recorded marriage in the state. The French documents reveal that the marriage did not take place until July 17, that the banns were published and the consent of both persons freely given. The affair caused quite a stir, but was hardly the first marriage in Louisiana or Texas.

The bibliography, mentioned above, runs to twenty-eight pages, and the excellent index is of thirty-three pages. Six illustrations and a large map complete the work.

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Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1936-1937. By Pierre-Georges Roy. Quebec, 1937. Pp. iv+474.

In a review of the preceding 1935-1936 report of the Archivist of the Province of Quebec, published in these pages in July, 1937, the present writer expressed the hope that the next report would complete the publication of the correspondence of the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu. His desires have been gratified to an extent in the *Rapport* for 1936-1937. Owing to the abundance of matter, Mr. Roy has been able to print only a part of the remainder of this correspondence, namely, the letters written by the abbé from June, 1753, to December, 1756, and a memorandum of 1758. In the foreword the editor remarks of the previously published letters, that "these documents were a revelation for most of our readers." And so they were. It is unnecessary to repeat what was formerly said with regard to the importance of these letters for the ecclesiastical and missionary history of New France in general and for the Mississippi Valley in particular. The three and a half years covered in this last report were trying years for the vicar-general in France for the bishop of Quebec. The jurisdictional difficulties in Louisiana were becoming acute, and the appeal made by the Capuchins to the Parlement of Paris did not conduce to improve the situation or to ease the tension.

The publication would prove still more serviceable, possibly, if the provenance of the documents had been given, that is, if the letters are found in the Archives of the Colonies, Paris, or in those of the Archbishopric, Quebec. The letters in the latter archival depôt often have a marginal index which was not printed, and important omissions were noted in the index at the end of the report. Such, however, are mere technical details, which would if included render the volume more easy to work with. Grateful students will forget the omission in view of the abundant documentation made so available.

A more notable omission is that of the five letters of the abbé for the year 1755, all of which are found in Volume 100 of the *Correspondance Générale,* Canada, Archives of the Colonies, Paris. These letters, it is true, have been printed by Casgrain in *Extraits des Archives des Ministères de la Marine et de la Guerre,* Quebec, 1890, (p. 180 ff.), but a note might have been inserted to warn the student of the lacuna. Also omitted is the abbé's *Mémoire historique* of 1756, found in Archives of the Colonies, F 5A, 3:237-244. That it was composed in 1756 is borne out by the title of the document, by what is said (f. 243 v): "The Abbé de l'Isle Dieu is passing over in silence the complaints made recently against Father Hilaire, who was in France last year," that is, in 1755, and finally by the letter of the abbé to the Minister, Moras, September 15, 1757, in Archives of the Colonies, F 5A, 3:245-245 v, wherein the vicar-general, in order to acquaint Moras with the situation in Louisiana, says he is sending "an historical memoir which was presented on this matter to M. de Machault, when he was Minister." The matter referred to was the jurisdiction controversy.

The letters of the Abbé de l'Isle Dieu make up only the last quarter of the *Rapport*. Attention has been centered around them in this review principally because of their interest to historians of the Mississippi Valley. The first section of the *Rapport* contains the nominal censuses of the governments of Montreal and Three Rivers in 1762, and the second section, the longest, is the first installment of the inventory of the correspondence of Mgr. Joseph Signay, 1778-1850, the fourteenth bishop and first archbishop of Quebec. The accuracy and fullness of this inventory, which is more than a mere calendar, is sufficiently vouched for when it is stated that M. I. Caron made it.

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Dom Pedro the Magnanimous. By Mary Wilhelmine Williams. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937. Pp. xii+414.

Great writing demands a great subject. Such a subject is Dom Pedro II of Brazil, and Doctor Williams has used her opportunity to produce an excellent book.

The broad story of modern Hispanic America is the formation of democratic governments among peoples with no colonial training for that experience. The contrast with our United States is strong. Our forefathers were thrown on their own resources from the day when they decided to abandon their native lands; they met the problems of nature and native danger as well as those of development, with schemes and forces that they themselves originated; their training for democracy was so solid that there was really no revolution in the secession movement from England. In the countries south of us, however, idealists attempted to begin democratic régimes with material that knew only absolutism; and the decades of the nineteenth century count off failures on every side,—but one. Brazil is the lone exception in South America. Her unique narrative bridges the gap from autocratic Portugal to the present republic with peaceful evolution of political life.

It is no exaggeration to credit Emperor Pedro II with a major share of this success. The Empire itself furnished a mold wherein party life and self-government could unfold, while at the same time the state would be secure and a great deal of progressive action would prepare society for the events of 1889. The man who was Emperor gave the spirit to that action. He dominated without tyranny, instructed without patronizing, guided without subduing lesser souls, and deserved altogether the title later given him of "The Magnanimous." His life was as full as his rule was long, and fortunately the muse of history has preserved documentary evidence sufficient in mass to match his importance.

Miss Williams gives a brief view of this material in her bibliographical essay; her chapters and citations show better how vast it is, and how much further study this character will stand. Her work is the first worth while study of Pedro II in English, and she will long remain the standard guide in the subject.

It is a task to compose a biography of such a man as Pedro II. Literary people would seek the psychological approach and produce a much less worthy study; for there is little of the bizarre or abnormal in this character. The historical approach seems much more appropriate, and here the Emperor is set into the great stream of the Brazilian narrative from 1841 to 1889. His life is told as it fitted into that story. He is studied from points of view that mark the great movements in that story, movements in which he himself took personal leadership: the early resistance to caudillo and military control, the strife with England, the Plata and Paraguayan warfare, the slave question, the Masonic troubles, the economic, educational, and welfare programs that so modified the life of the average Brazilian.

Miss Williams writes with distinguished superiority to prejudice and partisanship. This quality in her connotes both her personal knowledge of Hispanic American life—which is full and deep knowledge—and her unusually broad understanding of mankind. And her achievement in this matter is especially striking in view of the intellectually dangerous subjects treated. Instance the troubles over Masonry that so rent the body politic; here she is above the stage of assumptions and shibboleths, and she has made a valiant effort both to learn the facts and to understand the motives of the actors in that drama. Her treatment will scarcely be modified, even though it opens the door to much amplification by subsequent writers. In this point, and in her general manner of dealing with her subject, she could well serve as a model for the instructor in historiography. Finally she has brought Pedro II back again to the position he once held in American opinion, when on the occasion of his 1876 tour of the United States he was acclaimed by the Philadelphia *North American* in these words: "No ruler anywhere has, as a ruler or as a man, ever deserved so well from the United States as Pedro II."

W. EUGENE SHIELS

Loyola University

The Journal of Jean Cavelier. Translated and annotated by Jean Delanglez, S. J., Ph. D. Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1938. Pp. 179. $2.25.

The Institute of Jesuit History, founded in 1936 at Loyola University, Chicago, is giving the historical world some extremely important and careful studies of the French explorers of the seventeenth century, and of the courage and energy by which the foundations of civilization were laid in the Mississippi Valley. The French of that period seem to have been aware of the importance of their efforts and to have embodied the accounts of their expeditions in many forms not only for their contemporaries but for posterity. Their contemporaries, moreover, were keenly interested in every expedition, unlike the English, who by "judicious neglect" permitted their colonies to grow strong and vigorous without constant supervision.

There resulted, therefore, many separate versions and narratives of the explorations in the interior of North America, some of which have remained in the French archives to the present day, notwithstanding the efforts of Francis Parkman and Pierre Margry in the nineteenth century to commit these accounts to print. The especial hero of both Parkman and Margry was Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle. They admired the boldness of his ventures, the hardihood he showed in overcoming difficulties, his apparent success with the aborigines, and the vastness of his plans for the occupation of central North America. They minimized his defects—his overweening vanity which became almost a megalomania, his harshness and arbitrary treatment of his subordinates, who frequently deserted him and finally assassinated him. They forgot that La Salle was a visionary, whose ultimate successes were won by his faithful lieutenant, Henry de Tonty, and his successor, Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville.

It has fallen to modern historians to consider La Salle's contributions with a more dispassionate and critical view, and to submit the numerous narratives of his expeditions to careful comparison as to their fidelity and accuracy. Especially La Salle's last tragic expedition needs clarifying and the causes of its failure disclosed.

On the fifteenth of September, 1687, there arrived at Fort St. Louis on the Illinois river (now Starved Rock) a group of weary travelers from the Southwest. These were Jean Cavelier, La Salle's older brother, his young nephew, a Recollect priest, and two followers, one of whom was Henri Joutel of Rouen. This party spent the winter at the fort, then under the command of Tonty, and left in the spring without revealing to anyone at the post the momentous news that La Salle had been assassinated in the depth of the Texas forest. The reason for this secrecy is supposed to have been Cavelier's desire to obtain possession of his brother's property, which would not be his if the fact of his death were known. For this expedition there were supposed to be three annalists—Cavelier, Father Anastase Douay, and Henri Joutel. The first of these as published by Shea stopped before the date of La Salle's assassination. Recently another version of Cavelier's narrative was found in the Spanish Archives, sent to Spain by a no less renowned person than Baron Lahontan. This is the journal printed, for the first time, in this volume. The erudite editor has made comparisons of Cavelier's narrative with the other two. He has come to the conclusion that Douay's account was also the work of Cavelier, that neither is as accurate as that of the honest Joutel; and that it was the defects of Cavelier's character that incited the false representations. His greed made him deceive Tonty, and moreover, by his delay he jeopardized the colonists left behind in Texas, for whom relief might have been sent, if the priest had told the truth. The author also thinks that Cavelier was probably the author of the pseudo-Tonty or the "Dernières Decouvertes," which Tonty indignantly repudiated because of its errors and downright falsehoods. Whatever the purpose of Cavelier in these untruths, there seems to be no doubt that it had its source in propaganda and in his aim to secure more than was due his brother's fame.

Dr. Delanglez has in this volume given a very accurate translation of the Cavelier narrative, whereof the French appears on one page and the English on the opposite. Even more valuable are his critical introduction and his notes whereby he has revealed Jean Cavelier's turpitude and exonerated Father Anastase Douay from his supposed misrepresentations. He proves that Joutel's is the only trustworthy narrative of the events of La Salle's ill-fated undertaking to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. He also shows that Joutel's account of the assassination of La Salle is more accurate, while more brutal than that of Cavelier who gives the victim time to make confession to the priest, whereas "he did not have time to say even one word" is the true statement. Lastly, the editor traces the last years of Cavelier's life when "failing to interest the French Court in a new expedition he retired to the house of a relative in Rouen, where he died rich at the age of eighty-six years, November 24, 1722."

The volume is attractively printed and bound, has a good bibliography and index. It is a credit to both the editor and the Institute which he represents.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG

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